MEMOIR

OF

DAVID HALE,

LATE EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE.

WITH

SELECTIONS FROM HIS MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS.

BY JOSEPH P. THOMPSON,

PASTOR OF THE BROADWAY TABERNACLE CHURCH, NEW YORK.

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Memoir.

Amid many cares and labors more than abundant, I sit down to write a memoir of a departed friend. A variety of documents must be read, collated, and classified; oral testimony must be reduced to writing, sifted, and arranged; letters must be perused and whatever is of value in their contents must be woven into my narrative; and the files of a large daily newspaper for more than twenty years must be examined critically for the selection of extracts and articles. Yet the task will be a pleasant one. It will bring me again, as it were, in contact with one whom I loved and honored—with a powerful intellect and a noble heart. Already do I begin to perceive how little I knew and appreciated in his life-time him whose life and character I shall attempt to portray. His private journal reflecting from its brief pages his early religious experience; his letters abounding with the generous sympathies of the husband, the father, and the friend, and revealing as amid banks of flowers the deep clear stream of a spiritual life; his articles embracing a wide range of subjects—moral, political, economical, religious, ecclesiastical,—and not only equal in depth, discrimination, comprehensiveness, originality, and force, to any productions of the same class, but vieing at times with the more elaborate productions of philosophers, statesmen, and divines;—these cause me to feel that I am about to delineate no common man, and, while I despair of

doing justice to his memory, most earnestly to desire that I may be enabled so to conceive of his character as fairly to impress upon these pages its bold and massive features, and if possible to transfer also its more delicate lines and gentler shades. I would have others see the inward workings of a mind and heart which have stamped indelibly their impress upon society and the Church.

Just now, too, there is in this church which he established, and to which he devoted the last years of his life, a revival of religion, which originated apparently in connection with his death, and the heavenly atmosphere around seems to bear me up toward a nearer communion with him who has put off this earthly house for "a building of God, not made with hands."

I come then cheerfully to this unusual task; which, by God's blessing, I hope to accomplish for His glory, and the good of His Church.

The name of HALE appears in the earliest records of New England. The family has been traced back to *Thomas Hale* of Codicote, Hertfordshire, England, who lived in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The present representative in England, is William Hale, Esq., of King's Walden, Hertfordshire; the line being quite distinct from that of Sir Matthew Hale, and the family arms different. The *Hales* were among the first settlers of Charlestown and Old Newbury, in Massachusetts. *Robert Hale*, the first emigrant, was one of the founders of the church in Charlestown in 1632, and a deacon of the same; his son, Rev. *John Hale*, was the first pastor of the church in Beverly, which office he filled with ability and favor for nearly forty years. He was somewhat distinguished as an author, and was public-spirited and influential as a citizen.* Early in

* See Appendix A.

the last century, the branch of the family from which the subject of this memoir was descended, emigrated from Newbury to Coventry, Connecticut. *Richard*, the head of this branch, was grandson of Rev. John Hale, and father of NATHAN HALE, "the hero spy of the Revolution," who was seized and executed by the British.* Another son of Richard was Rev. *David Hale*, who was for several years settled in Lisbon, Connecticut, as pastor of the Congregational church in that town, and who was the father of the late *David Hale* of New York. Of this excellent man a memoir might be written which would be profitable to Christians in every station of life. Only the leading facts in his history can be mentioned here. After a brief but successful ministry to the church in Lisbon, the failure of his health obliged him to relinquish preaching, and he then devoted himself to the instruction of youth in a select family school. Most of his pupils were from the neighboring towns of New London and Norwich; where some are still living, who cherish with grateful affection the memory of their kind and faithful teacher.

In 1804, Mr. Hale came into possession of the ancestral estate in South Coventry, and removed thither the same year, where he continued to reside till his death. Here, while he did not wholly relinquish the congenial employment of teaching, he devoted himself principally to farming, and by the system which he introduced in every department, he soon made his farm a model for the neighborhood. So complete was the order with which everything on the premises was arranged, that a gentleman who in his boyhood was an inmate of Mr. Hale's family, lately remarked to the writer, that if things remained as they were thirty years ago, he could go now in the darkest night and put his hand on the rake, the hoe, the pitchfork, or any other utensil belonging to the farm.

* See Appendix B

The interior affairs of the household were conducted with like method and regularity. There was a fixed hour for rising and retiring, for devotional exercises, and for every meal. Order was the law of the house and of the farm; and whoever was employed in either, though but for one day, was required to conform to the established rules.

Mr. Hale was as rigid in exacting what was right from others as he was conscientious and even scrupulous in doing right himself. His strong sense of justice and propriety rendered him obnoxious as an employer to the indolent, the wasteful, and the disorderly; but such an example of prompt and upright dealing was of great value to those who were disposed to profit by it. He possessed self-government in a remarkable degree, and as he governed himself, so he sought to govern his family and all who were in any way subject to his control.

But with this stern adhesion to right was blended a kindness and a gentleness of spirit hardly less rare. He would never suffer a dumb animal to be abused. His horses and oxen were trained and guided in the field without fear of whip or goad. A generous hospitality always graced his board, and his charity, often bestowed in secret, relieved the wants of the poor.

As a severe pulmonary affection forbade his ever resuming the labors of the ministry, Mr. Hale accepted the office of deacon in the church at Coventry, which he filled to general acceptance for many years. From this it is apparent that he entertained no notions of the dignity and the indefeasibility of the clerical office, which would hinder him from serving the church in any station or capacity to which in the providence of God he might be called. And he was no less willing to serve his neighbors in civil affairs, for he was a justice of the peace, and judge of the County Court; and such was his character for wisdom and integrity, that whoever was conscious of the right of his cause, was always will-

ing to leave it to 'Squire Hale.' Ministers and churches too, in that region, were accustomed to resort to him for advice, and to rely much upon his judgment in ecclesiastical matters. To ministers in particular he was a valuable friend. He always retained an interest in the education of the young, and especially young men of promise. A Secretary of one of our most important benevolent societies, was induced to seek a liberal education by the counsel and the proffered aid of Mr. Hale. There exists in Coventry a fund known as the "Hale Donation" for the assistance of young men preparing for the ministry.

Religion was eminently honored in this consistent servant of Christ. He kept the Sabbath strictly. Even in harvest-time, on Saturday afternoon his workmen were called from the field and dismissed with supper in season for each to reach his home before sun-down. Long before the temperance reform had become popular, Mr. Hale ceased to furnish ardent spirits to men in his employment, and gave them extra wages in lieu of that hurtful perquisite.

His regard for truth was peculiar. He seldom gave a certificate of recommendation, and when he did, as for instance to young men who had been under his instruction, he confined himself to few words, and to the exact facts in the case. But his recommendation was a passport to employment wherever his name was known. A single line given by him to the gentleman above referred to, certifying that he was "well qualified to keep school," was worth more than a whole page of ordinary testimonials.

In sickness and suffering he exhibited firmness, patience, and trust in God. On one occasion he submitted to an acute surgical operation without moving a muscle or uttering a cry of pain. As the surgeon and his attendants were conferring apart about the expediency of binding him, and friends were venting their grief in tears, he exclaimed, "What mean ye to weep, and to break mine

heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die."

Such was the father of the late David Hale. This brief sketch of his character will enable the reader to appreciate in part the influences under which the subject of this memoir was trained.

His mother, Mrs Lydia Hale, was the daughter of Samuel and Lydia Austin of New Haven, Connecticut. Her sterling character, strong judgment, and fervent piety, well qualified her to be the companion of such a husband and the mother of such a son. Having passed the limit of fourscore years and grown venerable even in her widowhood she still survives her only child, and in a retired village of Connecticut, among familiar scenes and the few lingering friends of other days, with the calm assurance of the mature Christian, she awaits the summons to rejoin the objects of her fondest love in an eternal home.

The preceding paragraph was in the hands of the printer when intelligence was received that the desired summons had at length come. A paralytic shock—the last of a series with which Mrs. Hale had been afflicted—terminated fatally on the morning of the 28th of April. For some time past she had resided with her granddaughter at Rockville, Connecticut, a new village in the vicinity of Coventry, whither she had gone, as she expressed it, to prepare to die peacefully. She met the approach of death with the same dignity and composure for which she was remarkable through life. Her remains were conveyed to Coventry and deposited by the side of those of her husband. Some interesting reminiscences of her life, from her own pen, will be found in the Appendix.*

* See Appendix C.

DAVID, the son of David and Lydia Hale, was born at Lisbon, Connecticut, on the 25th of April, 1791. It is easy to infer what must have been the early training of the child of such parents. Though he was their only child, and for that reason they may have been more indulgent to his childish faults, yet from all that can be ascertained, it would seem that his parents were judicious and faithful in the application of the scriptural principles of family government. His mother once remarked to the writer, when speaking to her of her son's usefulness and success, "*My great desire has always been that David might do right and be a good man.*"

One or two anecdotes may be mentioned here to show that his parents did not discard the wisdom of Solomon. On one occasion when David was chopping wood in the door-yard, his aunt cautioned him not to hurt himself, to which he replied in a bantering way, whereupon his father punished him severely though he was then in his 'teens.

He himself narrated this incident: "Once, mother called me, 'David, David, David!' *I didn't come, and then she rodded me.*"

There was nothing particularly noticeable in the character and conduct of David Hale in his boyhood. He was obedient, affectionate, playful, and sometimes roguish, and is said to have been characterized by timidity, gentleness, and extreme sensitiveness, rather than by their opposites. He always told the truth from infancy, and in his childhood and youth, though he gave no evidence of piety, he was attentive to the outward duties of religion. His only education was that of the district school and such instruction as he received from his father at home, which was limited to the common English branches. But in those days a common-school education in Connecticut laid broad and well the foundations of knowledge.

When about sixteen years of age, David left school and began his business-life as a clerk in the store of a principal merchant of Coventry. His employer, now a resident of Providence, Rhode-Island, says of him, "He was a faithful, trusty boy. He then manifested those traits of character, which were in after life more fully developed, and for which I believe all who had the pleasure of his personal acquaintance have, and ever will, give him full credit, viz.: frankness, truthfulness, and magnanimity,—the latter in my opinion equal to Webster's definition of the term.*

"I recollect one incident that made an impression on my mind. I then thought he was chargeable with a transaction that rather displeased me. I mentioned the fact to him in private. He stood up before me with his head a little higher than mine, and declared himself innocent of the charge, and with tears running down his face respectfully exculpated himself to my full satisfaction."

After one year's experience of a clerkship in a country store, Mr. Hale began to aspire to be a merchant in the commercial metropolis of New England. His prospects in Coventry were better than those of most young men, for he was sure of coming eventually into possession of a farm as good as any in the town. But feeling that this was "too narrow a circle for information or exertion," contrary to the preference of his parents and the advice of friends, he determined to go to Boston and obtain a thorough mercantile education with a view to that course of life which he had

* The following is the definition referred to: *Magnanimity*, "Greatness of mind; that elevation or dignity of soul which encounters danger and trouble with tranquillity and firmness; which raises the possessor above revenge, and makes him delight in acts of benevolence; which makes him disdain injustice and meanness, and prompts him to sacrifice personal ease, interest, and safety, for the accomplishment of useful and noble objects."

marked out for himself. He was attracted to the city also by a fondness for polished society.

It was in 1809, when about eighteen years of age, that he left the parental roof to seek his fortune by his own exertions. As he drove into Boston in the old-fashioned chaise in which he had traveled from Worcester, (there was no great Western railroad then), and with an honest simplicity inquired of the truckmen along the streets where he should find a stable and an inn, and was answered by some with curses and by others with ridicule, he had his first experience of the rough and tumble of life in the busy, selfish city. But this was only the beginning of his annoyances. Not readily finding employment in the business which he had in view, he accepted a situation in a commission house where he experienced such severe treatment that he ever afterwards spoke of his employer as his old *master*.

On one occasion he was sent in search of a vessel whose arrival was reported; he went to her wharf, but she was not there, and after searching for some time in vain, he returned to the store and said that he could not find her.—"Can't find her! Ha! *Can't find her!*" said his master with a sneer, hooting him out of the store, "Go to every wharf from Charles River to the Neck, and don't come back and say you can't find her."

Yet this clerkship, though far from corresponding with his dreams of Boston life, proved to him a very salutary and useful discipline. Alluding to it afterwards in a letter to a friend, he remarked, "God chose to place me in a situation where under a tyrant of a master, I should learn indifference to fatigue or hardship, and unyielding perseverance in the pursuit of whatever was undertaken; a lesson which He knew, though I did not, was absolutely necessary for me." It was there that he learned never to admit that a duty required of him could not be done.

The occasion of his leaving this disagreeable situation was

an incident illustrative of the independence and the nobleness of his character. A fellow clerk, a mere lad, had left the store on account of harsh treatment. Young Hale was ordered to go and entice him back, that his master might have the malignant satisfaction of kicking him out of the store. This he refused to do, and was turned out of his place in consequence.

Thus ended the first year of his experience of city life. Disappointed and tried he was on the point of abandoning the idea of being a merchant, and even went so far as to write to his parents that he would return home and settle on the farm, if they would remit him money for that purpose. This was what his parents had long desired, and they wrote immediately their approval of his decision and inclosed the money which he requested. The letter was sent by a neighbor, but on reaching Boston, by some strange oversight he forgot to give it to David, and carried it back with him to Coventry; and before David received it he had obtained another clerkship and had entered into engagements which he could not retract. His new employers, Messrs. Bartlett and Denison, were of a very different stamp from the master whom he had left, and he soon began to feel that the life of a clerk was not necessarily the life of a drudge or a slave. This little incident shaped the whole subsequent course of his life. His parents were disappointed in the result, and not a little pained at what they considered his "foolish schemes," but, as is not unfrequently the case, the Providence of God had a work in view for David which their foresight limited by their fondness could not then compass. As he grew up to manhood he began to entertain more serious views of the future, and to desire success in business chiefly as a means of comforting his parents, and of doing good in the world. The following letter, with all its humor, is indicative of the grave transition from the romance to the reality of life.

"*Boston, April* 26, 1811.

"HONORED FATHER,

"Yesterday made me twenty years old. With what pleasure I once anticipated that day. And perhaps it has brought me as much pleasure as I expected, but not exactly of the same kind. Then, I thought what a fine thing it was to be strong, and nimble so as to overmatch all the boys, and so that I could knock a ball or pitch a quoit like men, and so that I needn't always be doing little chores, but more than all, because I should do what I had a mind to, and be free. And when I heard men talk I frequently thought and knew their opinions to be wrong, and wished myself so large that what I said they would believe. But now what am I? Nothing it appears to me, but a mere insect crawling about on this great molehill. Some of my species are running one way, some another, each one after his favorite crumb, and few care which way I run, or what is the effect of my race. When I look round and see the vast variety of great men, little men, wise men, foolish men, fat men, and lean men, of what consequence can it be whether I am long or short, whiteheaded or auburn locked, humpshouldered, hooknosed, respected or neglected; whether I ride on the Pegassus of my own folly or go on foot; whether I am happy or miserable? The world will still go on just so whether I am in it or out of it, whether I sit still or get up and stamp. Then what is to be done? Climbing the hill of eminence is like a pismire's crawling on chalk, as soon as he makes it his dependence, down he goes with a broken head for his exertions. We may rely on the aid of a divine providence if we make it our trust. But this should not at all diminish our own exertions. Every one has many objects, and some one in particular which will involve his anxiety and command his abilities. To suffer that favorite object to pass unattained would be the consequence of fear or sloth, both of which let every rational being banish. The kind care of Heaven and my affectionate parents has brought me to be almost a man. May the continued care of Heaven make me a blessing to my parents; nor suffer them to mourn that they are the cause of a creature's existence, who had better never been born.

"Your dutiful boy,

DAVID."

Mr. Hale remained in Boston, occasionally trading a little on his own account, till after the declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812. This period embraced the *non-intercourse* act of Mr. Madison's administration and

the *embargo* of ninety days by which the war was preceded. From brief intimations in a journal which he then kept, it would seem that he sympathized with the federal party in their opposition to these measures which he represents as having "laid American glory and prosperity in the dust." We learn from the same source that he went on several expeditions—some of them not a little hazardous—in quest of imported goods then contraband of war. Of one of these, by schooner to St. Andrews, his journal gives a minute and entertaining description.

But the memorials of these few years are too scanty for a connected biography; and yet it was at this time that he underwent the most momentous change of which a moral being can be the subject in this probationary state. When Mr. Hale went to Boston a young of man eighteen, though his principles were well-formed and his habits good, he was not professedly a Christian. But he kept his morals pure. In a letter to his father, he says, "I have read Proverbs XXIII. attentively. Of the virtues it inculcates I will say nothing, and only observe that I am seldom called to 'eat with a ruler,' and never join with 'wine-bibbers.' Of the rest you will be satisfied if you but put the question, Can he who most tenderly loves one female adorned with every virtue, hold intercourse with another who has clothed herself in infamy?" He went indeed occasionally to the theater, and and in after life he used to say jocosely that it was by hearing actors speak that he learned how to speak himself at least loud enough to be heard on the street or in a public assembly; but how much he thought of his school may be learned from his letters on the theater in a subsequent part of this volume. He never suffered himself to be contaminated with the vices which flourish in the courts of Thespis. His preservation from the common fate of young men in large cities was owing chiefly to his early education, which had firmly rooted in his mind the principles of virtue. He *kept the*

Sabbath; and he continued to *read the Scriptures* in which from a child he had been taught. He attributed his preservation in this respect in part likewise to his connection with a singing school, which occupied his leisure, and especially to virtuous female society. But he needed a higher security than that afforded by early habits and good principles, or even by the society of the pure in heart. And this he found.

At that time there was in Boston a preacher of the Gospel whose name and labors will not be forgotten in that city for many generations. I refer to the Rev. Dr. Griffin, then pastor of the Park Street Church. Of noble mien, of earnest and effective eloquence, bold and zealous for the truth in times of controversy and peril, this distinguished preacher, then in his prime, drew around him a greater concourse of hearers, and especially of young men, than any other orthodox minister in Boston. Mr. Hale was an attendant on his ministry, and to use his own words, Dr. Griffin's sermons often sent him home trembling to his room and to his knees. At length his convictions resulted in penitence and faith in an atoning Savior. This was somewhere in the early part of the year 1812. In June of that year he commenced keeping a journal in which he recorded his religious experience and such secular matters as interested him personally. The entries in this journal were made at irregular intervals for about three years, when it was dropped and never resumed. He commonly recorded the texts with a brief outline of the sermons of each Sabbath, sometimes adding his own reflections. The following extracts will serve to exhibit the general tenor of his thoughts and feelings.

"*Sabbath, June* 12, 1812. Am sensible that I have spent this Sabbath very improperly; neither my thoughts nor my words have been confined to heavenly objects. I must keep myself alone on Sundays or I cannot enjoy the company of my heavenly Father."

"*Sabbath, Sept.* 6. To-day the sacrament of the supper has been administered; but I was not at the table. Oh! I cannot

sit at the table of the Lord in Heaven unless I am prepared here. I must first partake of that bread which came down from Heaven, here, or I cannot live on it there. Scarcely could I turn my back on that ordinance; it indeed appeared a rich, a reviving repast. I could have given myself away to enjoy it with my Savior's smiles. Christ has died for me, and shall I not live for Him? He has humbled himself and taken the form of a servant to atone for my sins, and shall I not be humbled for those sins? He has suffered himself to be derided, spit upon, scourged and crucified for the love he bore to me who was his enemy; and shall I return him no affection who is so much my friend? My trembling soul scarcely durst trust itself in his hand. But I have nowhere else to go. Merciful Savior, I will throw myself at thy feet; there will I lie till thy benevolent hand raises me up."

Mr. Hale already appears to have been a shrewd observer of public men and affairs. His correspondence with his "honored father," of which only a few specimens remain, foreshadowed some of the opinions to which he afterwards gave such prominence as a public journalist. In this view, and as indicating the vigor of his mind and the readiness of his pen, the following extracts from a letter written at twenty-one, will be read with interest.

"The politics of our country appear to have taken a different channel for a few months past. The storm appears to grow more calm, and the strife to be less for names, and more for principles. Violence is getting unpopular, and men are growing more into the practice of thinking for themselves. They see that the "Essex Junto" and federalists in other states have sometimes been rash, and that democratic proscription at home and paper cannonade on foreign nations, are but the pitiful ravings of madness and the bravado bluster of cowardice. In fact, I think Americans are getting a little wiser. If men in general should become so wise, as to believe their own senses even when they contradict their favorite leaders, and leave off to see with other men's eyes, to hear with other men's ears, and not refuse to feel, then demagogues must tremble and democracy tumble from its pre-eminence. Democrats have been worse to convince than "Doctor Doubty" himself. He upon receiving a good drubbing, acknowledged that some things were certain; but democrats have grinned and bore the cudgel, and still doubted whether any thing hurt them. But we must not expect the time in a republic

when patriotism shall govern. Legislative bodies will ever be scenes of cabal, influenced by a few demagogues, to whom in the fancied expectation of helping themselves, they will sacrifice the best interests of the people. These demagogues know well how to blow their own trumpets, to toot their own patriotism, and tell the people how infatuated they are, with love for such charming creatures. But Cassius, who for his philanthropy could slay Cæsar whom he loved so much, could afterwads place *tyrants* all over Judea and Syria, because they by their extortions were able to pay him the most tribute. Constitutions are but little protection against these rotten-core patriots. Different politicians, like different divines, think directly contrary to each other, but all find their sentiments amply supported. No constitution can be made so tight, but that a legislature who think there is better picking the other side, will find some hole where they may crawl through. The Hon. Mr. Otis, in a very elegant speech on the reported answer to Gov. Gerry's 'Old maids' petition,' observed very truly, 'Paper constitutions are like paper kites, and every political boy thinks he may let them go the full length of the string.'

"Buonaparte says in one of his bulletins (soon after the battle of Jenna, and the issuing of the Berlin decree), he will fight until the British acknowledge that the rights of war, are the same by water as by land, that it is as contrary to the law of nations to capture private property on the sea as it is on the land. Will you send me an answer to him? Is private property as sacred in ships as in houses? If not, why is the distinction?"

In the fall of 1812 Mr. Hale returned to Coventry, probably having been thrown out of employment in Boston by the war. Under date of Sept. 18th, his journal contains this brief entry: "On Monday 14th, I left Boston and arrived at my parents on Wednesday. Thus I am placed on the 'War Establishment' of Mr. Madison." He spent the winter of that year in teaching a district school at Coventry. Here he became involved in a controversy with one of the most influential men in the town, whose son he had whipped severely for misdemeanor. The boy who was perhaps the largest in the school, had openly and contemptuously refused to do as he was bid; whereupon Mr. Hale flogged him into obedience. The flogging was undoubtedly

severe though its severity was much exaggerated by rumor. The father of the lad, Col. ———, a leading Federalist and aristocrat, was highly indignant at the insult offered to his family pride, and threatened summary vengeance upon the presumptuous teacher. Mr. Hale had already rendered himself obnoxious in some way to the democrats of the town, and now "about half the district" was aroused against him. The character and issue of the contest may be learned from the account which he gave of it at the time in a letter to a friend.

"Every measure was tried which malice could invent to injure my character, and to drive me from the school. I kept my place, and stood I trust, firm in my own defence against all their rage, until all other measures failing, the Visitors of schools (who have power to dismiss instructors for misconduct), were called. This was just what I wanted. I had a grand trial before them in which I was accused, perhaps of twenty crimes, such as feeling important, and talking politics. My accusers belittled themselves all that I could wish, and gave me every advantage to defend myself and whip them, which I did in a long plea. The Visitors' judgment was not only approbatory, but highly plauditory of my conduct. The whole was a somewhat amusing, though quite interesting scene. All this was too much for my enemies to bear, and they threatened my person with attack. And I have no doubt some of them would have gladly sucked my blood. I let them understand that I was not scared, but as the judgment of the Visitors had established my character to the world, I was ready to leave then, which it was thought prudent to do."

Not satisfied with the decision of the Board of Visitors, the aggrieved party determined to carry the case to the civil law. A few days later Mr. Hale wrote to the same friend as follows: "What think you? My mad Colonel has at length sued me!—before a single Justice! and laid his damages at seven dollars! I have had but few days' notice, and am determined to manage my own cause. The less notice I can take of it the better. I have no doubt what the result will be, but find that it requires considerable time for me to arrange my thoughts for such an undertaking. This

is the most important trial of all, and will, if I am successful, elevate my character still more than what is past. To preserve and exalt my character is an object of very tender solicitude."

But the Justice before whom he was summoned was one of the visiting committee who had approved of Mr. Hale's conduct, and he refused to try a case upon which he had already given his opinion; so the young advocate "lost the opportunity of whipping the Colonel in his plea."

This opportunity, however, was soon given before the proper tribunal, and the final result of the case is thus stated by Mr. Hale in his journal under date of July 3d.

"*July 3d.* The long contest between Col. ——— and myself, respecting a punishment which I inflicted on his son while at school in Silver street, I hope is now at an end, as it has been decided to-day in my favor by a court of law. This business as it has terminated will establish the government of schoolmasters, and it is probable that much good will result to society, as it is exactly what the ideas of many people at this time require. On the whole, I trust that community has gained, and that I have suffered no loss in character, and I hope none in good nature."

This decision was approved by the great majority of the better class of inhabitants in the district, and its influence upon the discipline of schools in that vicinity was felt for years. A gentleman who resided in Coventry at the time, and who afterwards taught school in an adjoining district, observed to the writer, that when the trial came on, all good people seemed to wish for Mr. Hale's success, and that he himself felt strengthened by the decision when he came to exercise the function of a pedagogue.

This little incident was quite an affair for a young man of twenty-one, and it brought out some of the characteristics for which Mr. Hale was afterwards so distinguished. We cannot but admire his fearlessness in the discharge of what he considered his duty to the school, his manly, independent

bearing through the trial, and the self-reliance and confidence in the justice of his cause which led him to undertake his own defence against the professional talent engaged on the other side. It should also be mentioned to his credit that it appeared from the testimony of all the witnesses, that though he chastised the boy severely, he did not inflict a stroke after the boy had submitted to his authority. The chastisement was not inflicted in a passion but as a matter of principle, to impress the scholars with the difference between "I won't" and "I will."

During this temporary residence at Coventry Mr. Hale made a public profession of religion. His feelings in view of that transaction are thus expressed in his journal.

"*Sabbath, June 6th,* 1813. I have to-day taken upon me publicly the vows of the Lord. What an act have I done! How have I unalterably committed myself! Alas! I feel that I am wholly unable to perform my solemn obligations. I have declared in the presence of God, angels, and men—I have called Heaven and earth to witness, that I take the Lord for my God, Jesus Christ for my Redeemer, and the Holy Spirit for my Sanctifier; that I renounce the world and embrace the cross. I have pledged myself to 'walk in all the ordinances Lord blameless.' 'But I know in whom I have believed,' that He is able to keep me from falling, and to present me before the throne of grace clothed in the robes of his righteousness with exceeding joy. Blessed Redeemer do I not love thy cause? Is it not my wish to honor thee, Oh thou who hast so much humbled thyself for me? Kind Saviour I lean on thy almighty arm; wilt thou uphold me, and make thy strength perfect in my weakness. After the Supper, the 190th hymn in Dwight's Collection was sung. So congenial was it to my feelings that I felt myself overwhelmed, and compelled to yield my emotions in tears. And so perfectly and so eloquently does it describe the feelings of my heart at that time, that I would ever have it connected in my memory and in my manuscripts with that transaction:

"The promise of my Father's love
Shall stand forever good;
He said and gave His soul to death,
And seal'd the grace with blood.

"To this dear cov'nant of thy Word,
I set my worthless name,
I seal the engagement to my Lord,
And make my humble claim.

"Thy light, and strength, and pard'ning grace,
And glory, shall be mine;
My life and soul, my heart and flesh,
And all my pow'rs are thine.

"I call that legacy my own,
Which Jesus did bequeath;
'Twas purchas'd with a dying groan,
And ratified in death.

"Sweet is the memory of his name
Who bless'd us in his will,
And to his testament of love,
Made his own life the seal."

In the same connection are two other entries which illustrate his habit of self-examination, and his views of Christian duty. The first was made on his twenty-second birthday.

"*Sabbath, April* 25. This day is the anniversary of my birth. Another year has been given me by a merciful God, and my blessed Savior has been enriching me with abundant privileges that I might bring forth some fruit. It becomes me then not to slight this grace, but to examine whether my life has produced any 'fruits meet for repentance.' Alas, what a wretched result must such an inquiry produce! Well may the Lord of the vineyard say, 'Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground.' But God is abundant in goodness, therefore have I hope. Oh! Divine Savior, do thou intercede for me at thy Father's throne, that I may be spared 'this year also,' and under thy gracious culture may I be no longer barren. Do thou enable me this day to renew my vows to thee, and this coming year may I devote myself more unreservedly to thee, who hast loved me and given thyself for me."

The other entry was made some months previous, when, entertaining the hope that he was a Christian, he was called upon to engage in prayer in his father's family.

"My father left home yesterday to attend his duty at Tolland. I have, by his advice, taken the lead in our family devotions. How poorly I perform my part my own sensations are witness. But I trust, that with some degree of humility and confidence, I

am enabled to rely on that infinite fountain of wisdom, who has promised to be near all those who call upon Him. But difficult and embarrassing as this duty is, its performance affords the most heartfelt satisfaction, even in a parent's family, and surrounded with domestics. How delightful must it be then, when performed by the side of her who is most tenderly loved, and whose bosom beats with piety and congenial fondness. Strange that any whom sympathetic love has united should neglect this cement, this bliss of their affection, to raise their united hands, and present their mingled prayers to their heavenly Friend. Imagination paints the scene of family devotion adorned by love as almost up to Heaven. Religion will not destroy love but chasten it, and 'love will not wound religion but adorn it.'"

His correspondence at this time with the intimate friend to whom he was subsequently united in marriage abounds in expressions of sincere, humble, and earnest piety. A few extracts may not be unacceptable to the reader. Speaking of the best mode of influencing an impenitent person, he remarks: "It is no doubt our duty to endeavor to persuade sinners to love our dear Redeemer; and though hints and arguments may very properly be often used, we shall be likely to make a deeper and more effectual impression by cultivating that sweet and gentle temper in ourselves, which was so eminently exhibited in Him."

In respect to self-examination and the evidences of Christian character he makes the following discriminating remarks:

"In judging of ourselves and of all other things we are extremely apt to be influenced by our wishes. Here we need be particularly cautious. Still we are not left to be continually in doubt. If we will accept a Savior's invitations we may have good reasons for our hope and stand fast, though with all humble and sincere Christians it will be with meekness and fear. It should be our earnest prayer that God would search our hearts, and see if there be any wicked way in them, and lead us in the way everlasting. We should not shrink from examining our hearts by any test which is sanctioned in Scripture, but should endeavor to try ourselves by all tests to discover sin in all its lurking places, and be careful that there is no one which we unknowingly roll as a sweet morsel under our tongue. We should

bring ourselves to every test, not generally, but particularly. If we wish to know whether we love Christians, we should not look round on Christians at large merely, nor on the polite and well-bred among them who would be agreeable to us without their piety; but ask ourselves, Do I love that poor, ignorant, and despised servant of Christ who has nothing but his piety to recommend him? In inquiring whether we are pleased with the sovereignty of God, it should be not generally but particularly; not 'Am I willing He should do what He pleases with nations or with families, or bring upon me such afflictions as are common to men?' but, 'Am I willing like Job to have my friends turned to enemies, and in poverty to be laid on the bed of anguish?' Could I then say 'It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good'?"

In the beginning of his Christian life, he manifested that delight in the Sabbath and in public worship for which he was remarkable till the close of life. On this point, he remarks: "Our privilege in the Sabbath is inestimable. To assemble in the temple of God on earth for His praise seems the nearest approximation to the enjoyments of the blessed above."

In the fall of 1813, Mr. Hale was drafted from Coventry and joined the army at New London, where he remained a short time as sergeant in the company of "Connecticut Guards," but was never called into the field. Soon after the retiring of the British from New London he was dismissed from service and returned to his father's house, where he employed himself upon the farm. While living at Coventry he planted a fine grove of maple trees, because he was determined that he would not pay taxes for sugar, nor be dependent on the British for it. This grove still flourishes in front of the old State-house.

On the 18th of Jan. 1815, he was united in marriage to Miss Laura Hale of Canterbury, Connecticut, his cousin in the first degree, to whom he had long been ardently attached. Beautiful in person, refined in manners, well-educated, and possessed of uncommon sweetness of disposition, and depth and fervor of piety, she was worthy of the en-

thusiastic admiration with which Mr. Hale ever regarded her, and which was not lost even in his chastened devotion to the companion of his later years. To her husband she was as the ivy that twines itself fondly and gracefully about the oak, clothing its rugged surface with beauty, and gently shielding it from the rough blast and the pelting storm.

His journal thus records his emotions in view of this union.

"*Jan.* 20, 1815. Wednesday evening the 18th, I took upon me the sacred and tender obligations of a husband by receiving the hand of Miss Laura Hale. I pray God to ratify our mutual obligations, to confer his blessing upon our connection, which can alone render it a source of happiness. Oh that He would enable us to perform all the obligations which we have taken upon ourselves, that He would be our guide in our pilgrimage here below, enable us to honor Him in our lives, and receive us at last as His children to dwell for ever with our blessed Redeemer in His presence."

His desire that this relation should be a means of spiritual improvement is beautifully expressed in the following lines which he addressed to Mrs. Hale on the recurrence of her birth-day soon after their marriage.

* * * * * *

"Most gracious God. Through thy beloved Son,
Pardon our faults, and bless us as thine own;
Support, defend us by Almighty power,
And light our footsteps in the darkest hour.
Teach us to thee, our duty; and with zeal,
May we perform the dictates of thy will;
The duties of our station may we know,
What to each other and the world we owe.
May we adorn the doctrine we've professed
And as expectants live of glorious rest.
Into thy hand our int'rests we confide,
Lord, 'tis enough if thou art glorified.
Fatigued when nature sinks, with death oppress'd
Oh take us to the realms of endless rest.
Then Heaven's pure air we'll breathe, its fields we'll rove,
And endless ages spend in praise and love."

At the close of the war Mr. Hale again repaired to Boston, but the prospect of establishing himself as a merchant appeared at first so dubious, that he seriously debated the

question of returning finally to Coventry and settling down as a farmer. For a while he assisted his uncle Nathan Hale in the office of the *Daily Advertiser;* but receiving favorable proposals from a gentleman who had some capital at his command, he entered into a co-partnership for the business of importing and jobbing dry goods. The new house opened in September, 1815, with flattering prospects, and Mr. Hale was sanguine of success. In December of that year he wrote to his parents that in the four months in which he had been engaged in business, the sales had amounted to forty-four thousand dollars, and the profits to five thousand. For a time his career as a merchant was one of uninterrupted prosperity. His credit was of the highest character, and his sales and profits were large. But the current soon changed, and adverse circumstances compelled the firm to wind up its affairs at the close of the second year. This was owing mainly to the fact that their stock was bought at the high prices consequent upon the war, and suffered an enormous depreciation when trade was revived by the restoration of peace. But the immediate occasion of embarrassment was the protracted illness of Mr. Hale from typhus fever, in the fall of 1817, which incapacitated him for business and produced such uneasiness in the mind of his silent partner, the capitalist of the concern, that he hastily determined to bring it to a close. "My sickness," said Mr. Hale in a letter to his father, "caused me the loss of a profitable fall business, and so entangled my affairs, that Capt. ——— thought it necessary to stop my business, and though I could not see the necessity, nor can others since, yet his opinion created a necessity if it existed nowhere else. My creditors are disposed to re-instate me handsomely, and it is a pleasure among the pains to perceive their strong confidence in my integrity and ability. Capt. ——— for the present stands in the way, and I almost begin to think him a hard-hearted selfish man, but

must wait some days longer to make up my decision. * * * It is probable I shall resume my business. On my own account these things do not trouble me; on account of my creditors they do some, but they are most of them rich and generous men, and a good man told me I ought not to be troubled on their account, for the same wise Being had appointed my misfortunes and their losses."

The principal creditors of Mr. Hale offered to release him upon the most favorable terms, and to extend him whatever credit might be necessary to re-establish himself in business. A leading merchant of Boston, after proposing a liberal compromise, added, "If Capt. ——— will furnish you from three to five thousand dollars, on your individual note for a term of from three to five years to commence business upon, I will give you a credit and so would all your friends, of whom no young man has more." The condition of raising this amount of capital was proposed as much with a view to Mr. Hale's own benefit as for the security of creditors. No young man ever stood higher in the confidence of the mercantile community, or found more friends in adversity. Alluding to this Mr. Hale remarks in a second letter to his father, "I hope I have not murmured at this dispensation of an holy Providence. I have been determined to preserve a good conscience, and the good opinion of my acquaintances both of my talents and integrity has made me believe that good prospects and a fair character remain to me yet, nor have I considered my stoppage a misfortune in point of property."

But every proposition for the settlement of his difficulties was embarrassed by the capitalist whose hasty action had complicated if it did not occasion them. This gentleman severely censured the active partners in the firm. He would accept of no compromise, and it was only by a protracted controversy terminating in a lawsuit and an arbitration, that his claims were finally adjusted. The issue of

the contest was quite favorable to Mr. Hale, both in a legal and a moral point of view. He did not however escape the tongue of slander, as no man ever did who was unfortunate, and even after he had removed to New York, calumnies respecting his former business transactions were occasionally revived by rival editors, though they uniformly recoiled upon their authors.

During these two or three eventful years, Mr. Hale maintained his Christian character alike in prosperity and adversity. Soon after he formed his first business connection, and while elated with his prospects, he wrote to his absent wife as follows:

"The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered at Park Street last Sabbath. It gave me pleasure to reflect that my wife was engaged with me in the delightful solemnity. Yet I cannot say I had a good day; my mind was filled with the world, and I exerted myself in vain to banish it. Bargains filled my heart, and left the dying Savior too little room. But it was at my commencement. I trust it will not be so when the routine of business is a little established: indeed, I find the case quite different already, for now I can banish business and think of something else."

In another letter to the same dear friend, he thus gives vent to his pious emotions in reading the word of God:

"How full of ardent and devoted piety are the writings of the Psalmist! How fully does he express the desires of every Christian! How suited are his petitions to our wants! 'Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth; keep the door of my lips.' God appears to have been the most intimate associate of this eminent saint, the confidant of his heart, the friend to whom he flew and unbosomed himself in every grief, on whose arm he could lean, and pour his tears and feel his griefs depart. How do they lower down religion who make it to consist in proud good works, and selfish exertions for personal good, leaving out of the account humility, charity, faith, repentance, communion with God, and all the sources of a real Christian's highest happiness."

The following extract is in quite a different vein. It is from a letter written immediately after the great gale of the

23d September, 1815, when houses were unroofed, trees and chimneys blown down, and vessels dashed against the wharves or driven from their moorings:

"Our trains of reflection on the storm, though both were serious and appropriate, were quite different. While you were seeking a shelter from the storm in an Almighty Savior, I was stretching my ideas and enlarging the terrors which surrounded me, until I could behold that more mighty display of power and wrath which shall carry creation again into chaos. I could not content myself shut up in the store. I walked out into different parts of the town, and down to the long wharf where I could have a satisfying view of the tumultuous ocean. Saturday seemed an epitome of the united fury of the elements, and the tremendous crash of falling worlds, which shall give terrible grandeur to the final judgment-day. Indeed how much will it then be necessary to have a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the storm."

The same element in the constitutional temperament of Mr. Hale, which brought him into sympathy with the wild and turbulent phenomena of the physical world, nerved him for the storms and conflicts of life, and enabled him to struggle and to conquer where many would have yielded in despair. When adversity befell him, his parents renewed their solicitations that he would return to Coventry and content himself with the peaceful occupations of the farm. But while gratefully acknowledging their kindness, and expressing his desire to gratify them, he replied: "I love the storms of life. The fire-side has its charms, but it is the traveler beaten by the tempest who most enjoys them." Still it was not constitutional firmness alone that enabled him to face adversity. He had a devout trust in Providence. "My trials in business," said he, "I feel have been hardly severe enough to do me good. We have not suffered the want of any comfort, we have not been molested, and though somewhat anxious, perhaps I am not to expect ever to be less so. You know I am not apt to be concerned about the future."

He did not suffer business cares to interfere with religious duties. While separated from Mrs. Hale, for some months after his marriage, he observed, simultaneously with her, stated seasons of prayer and of meditation on selected passages of Scripture. He delighted in the Sabbath. Writing to his father, he says:

"I regret to hear of your illness which confines you from the house of God; but I am glad that ma, Lydia, and the old mare, have sufficient confidence in one another to venture to meeting together. The Sabbath is indeed a precious season, and the house of God a precious place. Perhaps it is useful for us sometimes to be denied the refreshing streams we find there, that like the hart in the desert we may feel our need, and pant for the water brooks. Some of David's most fervently pious psalms were written when driven from the courts of his God. I feel my privileges in this respect to be peculiarly great. 'We have no such lengths to go' as you have, and we uniformly find a rich feast when we arrive. It is this which perhaps as much as any thing makes me fond of Boston."

The correspondence of Mr. Hale even in the midst of business perplexities, whether addressed to his wife, his parents, or to others, was pervaded with the spirit of piety. The preceding extracts are but specimens of the tone of almost every letter. With him religion was not occasional but habitual; as he himself expressed it, it was a "heart-business" and a "life-business."

A communication addressed to the writer by Rev. Samuel Spring, of East Hartford, Connecticut, a partner of Mr. Hale in his first business relations, presents a pleasing picture of his character. It is given entire.

"*East Hartford, May* 10, 1849.

"Dear Sir,

"Your note merited an earlier reply, and would have received it, had I been fully persuaded that it were best for me to undertake any thing like a compliance in form with your request. My connection with Mr. Hale, extending through a period of two years, though it gave me the best of opportunities to become acquainted with his character at large, was not of essential use in

securing a view of his religious character especially, and doubtless for the reason that I was not prone to contemplate him as a Christian, but rather as a business man, and as a partner and friend. I was not then a professor of religion, and had but just begun to be interested in my relations to God and eternity; although before we closed our connection I had made a profession, and was with him a member of Park Street Church. All my recollections of his Christian character are honorable to him, and pleasant to myself. He was consistent and firm, and had a testimony, I believe, in the consciences of all who knew him, to the stability and elevation of his religious principles. I distinctly recollect his punctual attendance on the weekly evening prayer-meeting in Park Street Vestry, and the Sabbath-noon prayer-meeting in the same room. He was also connected with one of the Sunday-schools of the city, and a part of the time, I think, superintended it. On him devolved the greater part of the labor of conducting our mercantile concern, as the elder and more experienced man; and yet no fatigue and no complication of cares were ever admitted by him as an excuse for the neglect of duty, or a reason for evading his more public responsibilities.

I have said that I was not much in the habit of marking his religious character; and yet occasionally it forced itself upon my notice in some striking and agreeable way. I recall an instance. Before I found peace in believing, we were one evening in our store looking over the entries of the day, and had been occupied till it was quite late. Before we went home, Mr. Hale said to me, 'We have been talking about business, let us now talk about something better,' and then proposed some question to me, I forget the form, designed to draw from me either the avowal of a Christian hope or the acknowledgment of impenitence. I had, as he knew, been the subject of concern and occasional deep impression for some months. In answer to his question, I told him I was afraid I had no religion. He then kindly directed my attention to some things which he thought afforded evidence of a renewed heart, and at once proposed the duty of making a profession of religion. I replied that I had no thought of it, and if I had, the fear of dishonoring the cause and wounding the friends of Christ would deter me from such a step. With an archness of manner peculiarly his own, and which when occasion offered, he knew well how to assume, and yet devoid of all severity, he said, 'O what do you care about the cause and friends of Christ?' The aptness of the inquiry, the spirit and tone of the man, gave me at once an entirely new view of one feature of the Christian character. It was the *first ray* of light that came to the relief of a benighted and desponding mind. I began to balance the inquiry if I had any regard for the honor of religion, and soon

was led to think if I had, then I ought to admit the hope that I was a Christian. I have not been accustomed to consider that evening as the commencement of a new life, or that conversation with Mr. Hale as the selected instrumentality of leading me to a Savior, and not till months after this did I trust that the Holy Spirit brought me into the liberty of God's children; but I have often thought of it as a pleasing instance of his readiness, his Christian solicitude, and his tender fidelity. With all that was rugged and apparently harsh in his manner and voice, Mr. Hale had a feeling heart, and I have been led to regret that so large a part of my business connection with him was spent, before I even began to appreciate the more estimable points of his character, or profit as I might have done, by his spirit and example.

"You are at liberty to make what use you think proper of what I have written, and will accept my earnest wishes for your success in the service you have undertaken of preparing a memoir of that excellent man.

"Yours with Christian affection,

"S. SPRING."

Though for years after the misfortune referred to above, Mr. Hale was obliged to struggle with pecuniary embarrassment, he was cheerful in the family and active in the church. He did not suffer himself to be made unhappy by disappointments. Blessed with a thankful heart, and with courage, patience, perseverance, hope, he enjoyed life and improved it in spite of trouble and care. The increase of his family, while it brought upon him new burdens and responsibilities, added greatly to his joy. The frequent allusions to his own little prattlers, in his letters to his parents, show how fond he was of the pleasures of the domestic circle.

It was not till the spring of 1819, that he was enabled to close up his old business, though before that time he had become agent and part owner of a powder-mill, located at Chelmsford, which yielded him a fair support. "I shall have to labor," he says, "about two years in a profitable business to repair the misfortunes of the same length of time in a bad business. And for all this I care but little in solid reasoning, but it 'goes against the grain' some.

My profits clear of all expenses for the first year are $1,500, and my business has very much increased. I feel quite safe as to this world, but have great reason to mourn that I do not, as I ought, lay up treasures in Heaven."

Towards the close of the year 1821, an explosion at the mill, which did great damage to the property and suspended the business, involved his affairs somewhat seriously for a time. Still he was not cast down. He at once set about remedying his misfortune, and as a means of support until the new mill should be completed, he accepted a book agency, of which he writes as follows: "My time is pretty thoroughly occupied, but with the expectation of some leisure I have undertaken to get subscribers for Dr. Dwight's Travels, for which I am allowed one-third of the price. I have obtained about sixty, and made besides some arrangements with booksellers, so that I think the prospect is, that with continued exertion I shall make from four to five hundred dollars by it. On the whole I consider the last year as the one of far the greatest temporal prosperity which has ever been granted me. But we need to see to it that temporal prosperity and the present happiness we all enjoy, do not tempt us to think or feel as if this were the place of our rest."

His prosperity, however, again proved to be short-lived. But leaving for the present the details of business, we will recur to the development of his religious, intellectual character. Mr. Hale transferred his church connection from Coventry to the Park-street Church in Boston in the fall of 1816. Here he proved to be an efficient and valuable member. He was active in the Sabbath-school, punctual in his attendance at prayer-meetings—in which he never declined taking the lead when it devolved upon him—liberal in his contributions for the support of religion and for benevolent objects, and prompt and energetic in the business affairs of the church and the society. He took great interest in

sacred music, and always occupied a place in the choir. Says one who was associated with him in church fellowship, "When Mr. Hale stood up in our meetings to speak or pray, he appeared both in person and intellect to be head and shoulders above us all; and such was his judgment, his energy, his decision, and his talent for business, that we always put him on our committees."

While he was connected with Park-street Church, an association of young men of that congregation was formed for mutual improvement, and for inquiry as to modes of usefulness. Several of the original members of the association were unconverted, but eventually they all became prominently useful Christians, and the association itself greatly promoted the interests of Orthodoxy in Boston. Mr. Hale early joined this association, and through his influence chiefly it was led to undertake the education of young men for the ministry, and thus became a valuable auxiliary in raising up an evangelical ministry when the general tendency of ministers and churches in Massachusetts appeared to be towards Unitarianism. On being elected to an important office in the society, he wrote thus warmly to his father of his own interest in the object:

"The *Recorder* of this week will perhaps afford you some peculiar satisfaction, as it will give you evidence that my character is fair at least among the most respectable, including the serious part of the young men of the town. The society in the account of which you will find my name makes me feel that I have not lived in vain. It makes me glad that I was not contented with the space I could occupy in Coventry. Not because I am proud of the office—the chief value I place on that is, that it will gratify you—but, because I think I have been the honored instrument of making it what it is. The society was not started by me; it was intended as a small society at Park-street. I joined it with a determination, if possible, to change the object. I have been warmly supported, but I am extremely mistaken if my counsels and exertions have not raised it to an importance which makes its influence felt through the town. If four or five young men are

constantly supported in their studies, and the young men of this town are drawn together for this noble purpose, two very important objects are accomplished—worthy the labors of many greater and better men than I. The fund left by Aunt Hale for education, I am decidedly of opinion would be much more economically and effectively expended, not to say judiciously, in its objects, were your large board of trustees to save themselves their laborious duties, and annually pay their income to the American Education Society. This is a society astonishingly efficient and admirably conducted. I wish you would propose it to the board. I believe there is nothing in the will to prevent.

"I would not readily consent to forego the pleasure I derive from uniting in the great plans of benevolence which are going on here. Would you not be happy to be united with those all around you, who engage heart and hand in attacking Satan's kingdom, with a firmness and zeal which shake his old and massy walls?"

Mr. Hale was now zealously engaged for the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom. Alluding in one of his letters to a revival in Coventry, he says:

"I am much rejoiced to hear of the gracious doings of God in your place. It is the earnest prayer of every Christian, 'Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.' In comparison with this, all temporal desires vanish into nothingness when he reflects that a single soul is of more value than the whole created universe. God seems now answering this prayer so long made by His people, and is beginning to fulfil the glorious promises made to His church. I am confident that the time is rapidly hastening when Christians will break the strings which have so long resisted the demands made upon their purses by a dying world. May that kingdom flourish in our hearts."

Again, speaking of the interesting intelligence received in March 1821 from the mission to the Sandwich Islands, he says:

"Our concert last Monday evening was intensely interesting, and we are to have an adjournment of the meeting to hear more of the journal. It really seems as if the Lord were determined, by astonishing acts of favor to His children in their efforts to spread the gospel, to compel them to trust in Him."

The cause of missions had a large place in his affections

and prayers, and his purse-strings never resisted the demands of a dying world. He appreciated the influence of missionary reading, and remarked with reference to the *Missionary Herald* when it was started, that "parents are extremely guilty of withholding more than is meet, who do not furnish their families with this sort of reading. There is no way in which they can help the education of their children one-quarter so much at the same expense, and besides the money all goes to missions."

In this particular Mr. Hale possessed in a high degree an evidence of piety to which President Edwards thus alludes in his diary, as a fruit of regeneration in his own case. "I had great longings for the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world; and my secret prayer used to be in great part taken up in praying for it. If I heard the least hint of anything that happened, in any part of the world, that appeared, in some respect or other, to have a favorable aspect on the interest of Christ's kingdom, my soul eagerly catched at it; and it would much animate and refresh me. I used to be eager to read public news letters mainly for that end; to see if I could not find some news favorable to the interest of religion in the world."

About this time Mr. Hale was called to mourn the loss of his father, who died in February, 1822. The death of a parent whom he so much revered, whose advice he had sought on all occasions, and to whom he had been accustomed to submit all his private affairs, was a very serious affliction. He had for some time expected the event with painful solicitude; but when it occurred he was sustained by the consolations of the gospel, and became at once the stay and comfort of his widowed mother. In his first letter to her after he had returned from the funeral, he calmly directs her thoughts to Heaven.

"I trust, my dear mother, that we shall be enabled much to reflect upon the providence which calls us to mourn; to reflect

with self-examination, and in such a manner that we shall be purified as gold. I think that the assurance we have that my father is now in Heaven will serve to give more fixedness to our views of that world, and enable our thoughts to rest more steadily there. It is calculated to make us think more of the joys of Heaven, and to desire them more, although we are to love Heaven for its holiness, and because God is there, rather than because our friends are there."

Mr. Hale always spoke of his father with profound respect and often with deep emotion, acknowledging his great indebtedness to the example and instructions of his deceased parent.

He once narrated to me an incident which showed how quick were his own sensibilities, and how deep was his reverence for his father's memory. Mr. Gough had been speaking very eloquently of the ineffaceable marks of past misconduct on the memory and the conscience. "Ah!" said Mr. Hale, "I know well what that means. Once when I was at home, my father, who had just undergone a severe surgical operation, requested me to shave him. I began to do so, but as he was nervous he complained that I did not do it right. This vexed me, and I threw down the razor. Without saying a word he took it up and with his trembling hand finished shaving himself. I don't think," he added, and here his voice choked, and his eyes filled with tears, "I don't think I have ever shaved myself from that day to this without being reminded of my improper treatment of my father and feeling sorry for it."

Such an acknowledgment, coming with the freshness of boyhood from one who had seen half a century, showed how deep and strong had been the current of filial affection in his heart.

In the year 1822 a new church was organized in Boston by the union of colonies from the Old South and Park-street Churches, with a fragment of the old Essex-street Church then on the verge of dissolution. To mark the transaction,

and for the purpose of a distinct designation, the name of *Union Church* was given to the new organization. This was the first aggressive movement of any importance on the part of the Orthodox since the development of Socinianism in Boston. It was therefore a movement of peculiar interest and responsibility. A gentleman familiar with the enterprise observes, "There was plenty of work to be done by the infant church, for the whole current of popular influence was against them. A congregation was to be collected; Sabbath-schools were to be gathered and instructed; religious meetings were to be held, in the conference-room and in private houses; and a multitude of benevolent enterprises, yet in their infancy, presented strong claims for aid."

Mr. Hale was of the number from Park-st. Church who united in forming the Union Church. In this new field there was a demand for all his talents and all his zeal. He was a member of the choir; he was chosen superintendent of the Sabbath-school and was very efficient in that capacity; he was on the business-committees both of the church and the society, and assisted in compiling their manual and laws; he was accustomed to visit the poor, to hold meetings in halls and in private houses, and in every way to labor for the kingdom of Christ. A gentleman of Boston, who was associated with Mr. Hale in the Union Church from its organization to the time of his leaving the city, says of him, "He was one of the most active and efficient members of the church—always present at our public and private meetings—always ready to lead in our devotions and instruct us by his exhortations—unwearied in his labors on our several committees, for visiting families—examining candidates for admission to the church—and conducting our church music. Of his labors as superintendent of the Sabbath-school I cannot speak from personal knowledge, having had the charge of another school. We admired him for the ability

with which he presented truth in his addresses in our meetings, and for the clearness and soundness of his judgment in matters of business. In the language of our pastor, he was a 'strong man armed.' He was noble and gentlemanly in his deportment—upright and honorable in his dealings. He was warm-hearted and generous as a friend—humble and devoted as a Christian. No Christian brother ever called forth more fully my confidence and my love. None ever laid upon me such heavy obligations of gratitude by his deeds of kindness and princely generosity, and in regard to no one have I a more unshaken belief that he 'sleeps in Jesus,' and has a 'part among all them that are sanctified.'"

Another gentleman, who was for some time a deacon in the Union Church, says of Mr. Hale, "I was nearly associated with him, and we often took sweet counsel together. He was an active and efficient Christian, labored in the church and Sabbath-school, and was highly esteemed by those who best knew his worth."

But it was not only in the church that Mr. Hale rendered himself useful, though that was the sphere of his highest activity. As a citizen he was public-spirited, and zealous for the promotion of good morals and measures of reform.

He labored in various ways, and at length successfully, to abate the nuisance of booths and liquor-stands about the Common. Being grieved at the desecration of the Sabbath, especially by parties riding for pleasure, he sought to counteract the evil by keeping a livery-stable which should be closed on the Sabbath, hoping by the result of this experiment to persuade the proprietors of such establishments to regard the Lord's day. He wrote occasional articles for the newspapers on this and kindred subjects. A series of articles against the erection of a new theater in Boston, which he furnished for one of the daily papers under the signature of "A Father," attracted much attention by their vigorous style, cogent reasoning, and elevated morality.

For a time Mr. Hale was a regular contributor to the Boston Recorder, and had, in fact, the editorial charge of one department of the paper, that of political affairs and foreign and domestic intelligence. His labors in this department attracted the favorable notice of several prominent citizens of Boston, who were interested in the project of a daily newspaper to be conducted on Christian principles, and undoubtedly led to his being invited to take charge of a similar enterprise in this city. In allusion to this project he remarks, in a letter under date of May 5, 1821 :—

"My editorial labors do not much interfere with my other pursuits; they take a little of my time which I should otherwise spend at my store; but most of what I do is at intervals of leisure. I think it is important for me to do it, as I get five dollars a week of Mr. Willis. I am fond of a little such employment, and especially if what I do is well done, it may fit me, by the experience I get, and by showing my friends what I can do, for more important services of the same kind. There is a very strong disposition among leading Christians here to establish a daily mercantile newspaper to be conducted on sound principles. Mr. Evarts [then Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.] has inquired of me if my business would permit me to engage in the undertaking in connection with some man whose pursuits are entirely literary. I should not be disposed to relinquish my present business for any uncertain enterprise; but I could do a great deal towards the editing of a paper without any infringement of consequence on my daily avocations. You will see what I contribute to the Recorder, by a pencil mark I have drawn under my articles."

The project here alluded to was not carried into effect, though Mr. Hale was generally regarded as a fit person for such an enterprise. In this connection an incident narrated by Gerard Hallock, Esq., the surviving editor of the Journal of Commerce, is interesting as an illustration of the generous spirit of Mr. Hale and the course of Providence by which he was brought into a more intimate connection with the public press.

"The circumstances," says Mr. Hallock, "which brought

Mr. Hale and myself into connection with each other, as joint editors and proprietors of this paper, are a little remarkable. I became acquainted with him in Boston in 1823. He was then in prosperous business as a merchant; I was a stranger, comparatively very young, without pecuniary resources, yet resolved, if a few hundred dollars could be loaned me, to establish a weekly paper there, for which there appeared to be an opening. Scarcely had I made known my object, plan, and wants, when the money was handed me by David Hale, who had collected it from a few friends, himself included, with the condition that I should 'return it when convenient.' In a little more than a year I did return it, with interest."

Though Mr. Hale seldom took part in public meetings, and never aspired to be an orator, he spoke occasionally in Faneuil Hall upon measures in which he felt a special interest. He was prominent in a movement in relation to the public schools. The school inspectors of Boston were elected by general ticket, and as the Unitarians were a majority in the city at large, they had the control of the public schools. To neutralize or weaken this Unitarian power, Mr. Hale suggested that the inspectors should be chosen by wards, which would ensure the election of some Orthodox men. By a speech at a public meeting in Faneuil Hall, in connection with more private efforts, he secured the adoption of his plan, and thereby effected a permanent change in the mode of electing these officers. For his efforts in this matter he was assailed personally through the columns of the *Daily Advertiser*, and ridiculed for having "coined words" in his speech, to which he replied over his own name. He also advocated at a meeting in Faneuil Hall the change of the government of Boston from town to city, and his speech on that occasion was reported with favor in the journals of the day. Public speaking, however, was not his *forte*, and

he commonly preferred to express his views on public affairs through the newspapers.

The year 1824 was to Mr. Hale a year of peculiar sorrow. She who for years had shared in all his vicissitudes, and whose sweet companionship had relieved so many anxious hours, was called to the rest and enjoyment of heaven. A lingering and painful disease, which she bore with Christian patience and submission, terminated in death on the evening of the Sabbath, July 25, 1824. Says a female friend who was much with Mrs. Hale in her last sickness: "She was not only patient but happy; she remarked to me one day when I called to see her, not long before her death, that it was pleasant to think of the grave as a resting-place for the body, asked me to put my hand on her emaciated frame, and with a sweet smile said, 'see how sickness is preparing it for the grave;' she also spoke of a sermon of Dr. Dwight on the resurrection of the body, which had afforded her much comfort in her sickness, and repeatedly desired that certain familiar hymns, relating to death and heaven, might be read or sung in her hearing. She met every one who entered her room with a smile; and it was her constant practice, when the children came in to see her in the morning, to speak to them with her accustomed cheerfulness, as if nothing was the matter; because she did not wish any gloomy impressions of her sickness to be left on their minds. She made all her preparations for leaving her family, when she should be called away from them, with the greatest composure, as much so as if she had been only going on a journey; every little thing that would relieve any one of care and anxiety she attended to; she seemed to lay aside her own feelings to relieve others."

It was the fervent prayer of this departed saint that her children, four in number, might "in the dew of their youth be devoted to God;" and she died expressing her strong confidence that they would all be early brought within the

fold of the Redeemer—a confidence which time has shown was not misplaced.

I shall not draw aside the veil to picture the loneliness and grief of the widowed husband, left with the management of a young family, with no sister nor other female relative to assist him. A delightful home soon offered itself for his children in the family of Rev. Levi Nelson, of Lisbon, Conn.; Mrs. N. being a relative of their deceased mother, with whom she had ever been on terms of the most intimate friendship. But while Mr. Hale was thus relieved of the immediate care of four motherless little ones, of whom the eldest was not yet nine years of age, his loneliness was proportionally aggravated by their absence. He doated much upon his children, and though they were too young to correspond with him, he used occasionally to write them letters full of simple affection and good counsel. One of these, addressed to his eldest daughter, is inserted here as a specimen of the methods by which he endeared himself to their young hearts:

Boston, March 5, 1825.

My dear little Daughter,

It is a very long time since I have written to you or heard anything about you. I suppose you have in this long time grown some taller, and I hope some wiser, and some better. I wish very much to know how you spend your time; what you do at school and what you do at home. I want to know, too, what my other little daughter is doing—she whom I used to call Miss Little Fudge. Indeed, I have called you both by this name, for when you were three or four years old, you were so busy in doing nothing, so earnest to do a thing one moment and to undo it the next, that Little Fudge seemed quite descriptive of your characters. Now that you have grown more sedate and more steady in your purposes, I do not know but I must give up the old name of Little Fudge and call you little Misses Amicable, or Industrious, or some such thing; but I can tell better when I hear what characters Aunt Nelson gives you. And I wish to know, too, what my little son Richard is doing, whether he learns any thing at school, and my little son David, whether he is sober and industrious as he used to be, and yet wears that grave counte-

nance, so honest and so calm. It is not because I do not think of you, that I have not written; but because I have so many things to take up my time and attention. I think of you very tenderly many times a day, and I pray for you at least every morning and evening. For when I get up in the morning, I think that you are about rising, too; and that you will get up with sprightly countenances and full of life and run about full of joy, and not think of a great many dangers that may be near to you. Even Uncle and Aunt Nelson, careful as they are of you, cannot always see the dangers and they cannot always be with you. But I remember that God is all the time with you, and that He sees every danger to which you are exposed, and it is very delightful to ask Him to preserve you. When I go to bed at eleven o'clock, I think of you, and seem almost to see you fast asleep in your beds all quiet and secure; but I know that if you open your eyes in the morning, it will be because God preserves you.

I have lately given out to the Sabbath-School, as a story to tell in their own words, the account of the great quantity of fishes taken by the disciples. The account is in the last chapter of John. And I have asked the children a great many questions about it, most of which they have answered very correctly. I will tell you a few things which the children have agreed upon: One is that Jesus was one hundred yards from the disciples while they were conversing with him from the ship. You can easily measure a hundred yards and see how far it is. Another thing which they have concluded upon is, that the *ship* in which the disciples were, was not such a great vessel with three masts, as we call ships in Boston, but a little boat four or five yards long. I asked the children to give me an account of the Sea of Tiberias. After a moment's pause, Sarah T—— rose and stated the various names by which it was called, what sort of gravel the bottom is of, what river runs through it, how wide it is and how long, and a great many more things, which she seemed to understand as well as you would understand how to describe the brook between your house and Esq. Jewett's. And what would you say if you were called upon to describe that brook? I used, when I was as large as you, to play in that brook, to fish there and build little dams to stop the water; and once in the summer I went barefoot into the brook to play, and a water-snake bit one of my toes, which frightened me very much, but did me no hurt as he had none of that poison which rattle-snakes have. I believe, however, that I had presence of mind enough to kill the poor snake for his impudence.

I am coming to see you as soon as the roads are a little better, and shall bring the things of which Uncle N. gave me a memorandum.

May the Lord watch over you, my dear child, and over all of you, my dear children, and keep you by day and by night.

Your affectionate father,

DAVID HALE.

That his painful discipline proved to Mr. Hale a means of higher sanctification was manifest to all who knew him intimately; and so far from seeking to dispel its influence, he rather sought to cherish and to deepen it through life. More than twenty years afterwards, while on a visit in Boston, he went to his former residence and requested of the occupant permission to enter the chamber in which his wife died; and there he shut himself up for hours to commune with the Past, with the departed, with his own heart, and with God.

This severe domestic affliction was followed not long after by reverses in business. Mr. Hale, still retaining his agency for the powder-mill before referred to, and which of itself yielded sufficient for his comfortable support, had also entered into a partnership for the auction and commission business, and had become concerned in a woolen factory located in Worcester county. But the general commercial reverses of 1825, and especially the unfavorable state of the market for woolens, reduced the house with which he was connected to bankruptcy, and threw him once more penniless upon the world. So hard is it for a young merchant to build up a stable business and amass a fortune in a great city. But Mr. Hale's life had not been thrown away; in fact he had only begun to live, and the same Providence which had subjected him to so many trials had in store for him the most ample blessings in a new and congenial field of labor and usefulness.

Meanwhile, he had formed a connection which restored to his domestic life its comfort and joy. On the 22d of August, 1825, he was united in marriage to Miss

Lucy S. Turner of Boston; the blessings of which union he continued to enjoy till the close of life.

In 1827, Mr. Arthur Tappan, with his princely liberality and zealous regard for the public good, resolved to establish in New York a commercial newspaper, to be conducted upon principles of sound morality and true independence, and with a scrupulous regard for the Sabbath. Some friends of Mr. Hale, learning of the movement, recommended him to Mr. Tappan as a suitable person to take charge of the commercial and business department of the paper, to which post he was accordingly invited. He entered upon his duties at the commencement of the enterprise, Sept. 1, 1827; W. Maxwell, Esq., of Norfolk, Va., a gentleman of high literary reputation, being associated with him as the literary editor. The *Journal of Commerce* (as the new paper was called) was then about the size of the New York *Tribune*, or one half its own present dimensions; and its daily circulation was only a few hundred copies—in fact much of its circulation the first year was gratuitous. Its editorials were generally upon literary subjects; but its columns were principally devoted to business and news, the latter being diversified every few *weeks* by the arrival of a vessel from Liverpool, Havre, or New Orleans.

Such was the expensiveness of the enterprise, that towards the close of the first year, Mr. Arthur Tappan, who had already advanced upon the Journal, *thirty thousand dollars*, determined to abandon it; and to rid himself of further responsibility he presented the entire establishment to his brother, Mr. Lewis Tappan, whom he had just associated with himself in business. Several changes followed this arrangement. Mr. Maxwell retired from the editorship, and Mr. Horace Bushnell (now Rev. Dr. Bushnell, of Hartford) —who already evinced much of his peculiar spirit and power as a writer, and who had been an assistant of Mr. Maxwell—

was employed for some months as editor, while Mr. Hale, in whose name alone the Journal was published, continued to manage the business department. The paper was under the general direction of Mr. Lewis Tappan, who thus announced the principles on which it should be conducted:

From the Journal of Commerce, Sept. 1, 1828.

"It will be a primary object to render the Journal a first rate *commercial* paper, worthy of this city. To this end an extensive correspondence will be maintained, the most ably conducted periodicals will be taken, and no pains nor expense will be spared to procure authentic reviews of the markets, prices current, &c. It will be necessary also to maintain a *boat establishment* for the collection of marine news; and this must be done at our individual cost, as the public and our establishment will be benefited by a competition, and as it will be contrary to the principles of this paper to be associated with similar establishments which devote Sundays to the collecting of news. By a vigorous competition we expect to prevent any deficiency arising from an observance of the Sabbath, by which we mean the hours consecrated as holy time by the general usage of Christians in this city, viz., *from* 12 *o'clock, on Saturday night to* 12 *o'clock the night succeeding.*

"We shall avoid all participation in the gain of those fashionable vices which sap the foundations of morality and religion, on which the best interests of the nation depend. We profess to be friends of Christianity;—not enthusiasts, nor sectarians—and by a liberal and firm support of the moral and religious institutions of the country, we shall hope to merit the patronage of all good citizens. Nor shall we fear, for the Journal, the sneering imputation of its being a *religious* newspaper, because it will refuse to derive emolument from advertisements that are at war no less with the political and commercial prosperity, than with the innocence, integrity, and moral weal of the community; nor because it will seek to promote the purity and elevation of public sentiment.

"In short, it will be our endeavor to pursue an independent, courteous, and honorable competition; to *come out plainly* against moral delinquencies; while we hope to furnish a paper, which will instruct and gratify the merchant, the politician, the literary reader, and the moral and patriotic of all callings and professions. On the coöperation of such we confidently rely. Let the experiment be fairly made, and who can doubt that, in the metropolis of this great nation, a daily paper, striving to excel its contemporaries by a dignified discussion of all the leading topics of

public interest, excluding vice in all its forms, will be extensively patronized."

Such was the original plan of the *Journal of Commerce*, as devised by Mr. Tappan. Mr. Hale differed from him on some minor points relating to advertisements and measures of reform, but in the main the principles stated above were his also. The attempt to establish a paper on such a basis excited the opposition and contempt of mere men of the world, while on the other hand some good men, with more zeal than discretion, were dissatisfied because the paper did not go as far as they desired, in its opposition to certain specific evils, or did not oppose them in the manner which they prescribed. Some who at the outset are loudest in their acclamations for an *independent* journal, are most bitter in their denunciations whenever that journal has sufficient independence *to differ from themselves!* Their idea of an independent editor is an editor who will always take their advice, express their views, carry out their policy, publish their articles, defer to their opinion. And if at any time he refuses to publish communications from them which he deems erroneous or injurious, or to make his journal the vehicle of their extravagances, their unjust and slanderous imputations, or even of their mistaken though well-meant views, then, forsooth, he is sacrificing his independence and courting popular favor, and must be made to feel their righteous indignation. They will coerce him into their notions of independence by stopping the paper.

An extract from a letter written by Mr. Hale soon after the *Journal of Commerce* was started, will show to how many petty annoyances of this sort he was subjected, how impracticable it was for him to comply with the wishes of all his patrons, and how much wiser was the general course which he prescribed to himself than what others were so ready to suggest. The letter was written before Mr. Hale had any ownership in the Journal.

"We are very glad to know all the objections which good people make (and bad too) to our measures. We have heard many objections. One good man says that our police reports are making light of iniquity and trifling with matters which ought to make us weep; another says we ought to attack theaters and lotteries, and keep up a fire of hot shot until the whole fabric is overthrown; another that we ought not to advertise rum; another, that we ought not to advertise novels; and ever so many others something else. And all, with one consent, say that the wrong of which they complain is a great deal worse than theaters. As to the novels, I have never heard it mentioned except in your letter; and if I were set to answer the gentlemen who make the complaint, I should perhaps say, that they have never been at the theaters, nor read the novels, and they had better abstain from both, but that at any rate they know nothing of the matter whereof they affirm. But if I were to use circumlocution, I would say, that in advertising we promised to exclude but two things, and to these we have added publicly all transactions upon the Sabbath; and we exercise a censorship with regard to quack medicines and several other things, not however pretending to exclude every thing which is abused, or with which sin is committed—for then must we needs go out of the world; but taking no more ground than we can maintain, and hoping to help so to push forward public opinion, that by and by some other things may in the exercise of a sound discretion be added to our list of exclusions. But I am very willing to say that I have no idea of proscribing novels, if by the word is meant *works of fiction;* for we must then exclude a large part of the best religious tracts and other publications. The effort which Christians once made against novels, when they consisted of little else than licentious love stories, was certainly praiseworthy. But to proscribe the historic and literary works of fiction of the present day, merely because they are called *novels*, would be as unwise as to proscribe the clergy of the present day because they are called by some of the same names, and discharge the same offices with the Catholics. The abstract question of the right or expediency of using fiction I need not discuss, or undertake to determine; and there is no probability that those questions will be decided at present; at any rate none that all modern novels will be so reprobated by the united voice of the religious and moral community, that the high ground can be taken against them that they shall or ought not to be advertised in the columns of business."

As it was not the wish of Mr. Lewis Tappan to retain the control of the paper, he endeavored to procure an editor

to be permanently associated with Mr. Hale. In a few months an arrangement was made by which Mr. Hale and Gerard Hallock, Esq., then editor of the *New York Observer*, became joint proprietors and editors of the *Journal of Commerce*. A guarantee fund of twenty thousand dollars was subscribed by several gentlemen for the support of the paper, and the editors were allowed two years to determine upon purchasing the property by returning principal and interest. This they subsequently did, and thus the Journal was established on a safe and independent basis. But Mr. Hale passed through years of privation and self-denial before he began to receive an income of thousands.

Although it was expected that Mr. Hale would devote himself rather to the commercial and business department of the paper, than to the departments of literature and politics, yet neither his thoughts nor his pen could be idle, and by the vigor and pertinence of his articles upon a great variety of subjects, he soon proved himself to be one of the ablest editors in the Union. Self-taught as he was in every thing beyond the rudiments of education, unskilled in the rhetoric of the schools, he yet wrote with a precision, a correctness, and force of language, to which few attain. Elegance of composition he never attempted; but his words "fitly spoken" were sometimes "like apples of gold in pictures of silver." He always expressed himself clearly, concisely, forcibly; and sometimes with that nice discrimination, both in words and ideas, which indicates the true philosopher. When we consider that he had no editorial *sanctum;* that his articles were written—not in a quiet study at home—nor in a private office accessible only by tortuous staircases and labyrinth passages, and guarded by spring-locks against all who could not give the magic 'Sesame'—but in the business office of the Journal, of late years on the corner of Wall and Water Streets, at a desk directly facing two doors, amid the rumbling of carts, the cries of street venders, the hum of con-

versation, the receiving and disbursing of money, and incessant interruptions from calls and questions requiring his personal attention—when we consider that his articles were written by snatches, in such a position, and were often sent to the compositor without revision, we are filled with astonishment at their excellence both of thought and style, and at the power of abstraction and of self-government which must have been acquired in order to produce such compositions in circumstances so unpropitious.

As an editor Mr. Hale observed the courtesies of the profession; he never indulged in low personalities; even in the heat of controversy, and while giving full play to his extraordinary powers of humor and satire, he maintained the dignity of the gentleman and the Christian. And yet probably no editor was ever subjected to a greater amount of personal abuse. He was ridiculed, he was caricatured, he was assaulted, his private character was calumniated, his religious profession and acts were derided. And this malignant opposition was commonly excited by the fearless utterance of truth in the discharge of duty. The remark of the late Mr. Adams might be applied to him: "To be slandered is not peculiar to me, but is the common lot of all men who have attracted the attention of the age in which they live."

This treatment Mr. Hale never retaliated. His conduct towards his bitterest enemies was magnanimous. He could turn off their sneers and their curses with a laugh,—not because he was indifferent to the opinions of others,—not because he courted opposition,—not because his heart was ribbed in steel,—but because he had a consciousness of rectitude which raised him above the shafts of slander, and because he knew that the most malignant prejudice would yield, at length, before a stern integrity and a dignified self-control.

An incident of a personal nature occurred in the early

history of the paper, which occasioned some public scandal, but which illustrated some of the noblest traits in Mr. Hale's character, and won from him the general approbation of good men. An article appeared in the *Journal of Commerce*, which, though not personal, was construed by a French merchant as a reflection upon himself. The aggrieved party demanded of Mr. Hale the name of the author of the communication, which he refused to give, though he offered to publish an explanatory article, if couched in proper terms. Hereupon the excited Frenchman assaulted Mr. Hale with a whip in the crowded Exchange. The deportment of Mr: Hale, who had received some intimation that such an attack was intended, is thus described by one who was conversant with the facts:

"Mr. Hale, who was by far the most powerful man of the two, received the blows without resistance, and without excitement. He knew the writer of the communication, who was not an intimate friend, but rather the contrary. By his conduct in this affair, he stood as the honored representative of the peaceful principles of Christianity, as a magnanimous upholder of the freedom of the Press, and as one who preferred to be laughed at by ungodly men rather than to do wrong. I have never known, since living in this city, a more heroic act. Many who disliked Mr. H. reverenced his conduct on that trying occasion."

The following is Mr. Hale's account of the affair, as it appeared under his own signature in the *Journal of Commerce* of the next morning. After stating the circumstances connected with the publication of the article, he thus proceeds:

"In what followed the occurrences above-mentioned, one of the editors acted alone, and may as well act alone in stating the reasons of his conduct: though he cannot but feel that the motives which actuated so unimportant an individual must be of very little consequence to the public. The undersigned pro-

ceeded to the Exchange with the paragraph which had been prepared, and with a sincere desire to make all suitable reparation for the unintended wound which had been inflicted on the feelings of Mr. M., presented it to him and his friend. After a few minutes consultation, Mr. M. inquired whether the paragraph which his friend had written, or another which I then saw for the first time, would be inserted. As he insisted on an answer, I replied, that exactly in the phraseology which they then had, I thought they would not.

"It is not my object to display the conduct of Mr. M. in an unfavorable light; suffice it to say, that on receiving my answer, he at once assumed the appearance of heated passion, called on some one to hold his overcoat, which he took off with great violence, and commenced a furious attack upon me with a rattan cane. I acted as I had long since determined to act, if I should ever be so unfortunate as to be placed in such circumstances. From the beginning, I perceived that I was in no danger of personal injury—and really, for such a flurry of boy's play I was not disposed, and am not now, to be angry. If the object was to inflict on me bodily pain, it failed entirely; for I suffered none. If it was to disgrace me, I have long since made up my mind, that my own actions, and not those of other men, can do me that injury. No doubt the feelings of many of the gentlemen present demanded that I should fight. Perhaps all would have justified me in doing so; though I have the pleasure to know, that my conduct was approved by a large number, and for myself I find nothing in it to regret. Why should I have fought? To prove myself courageous? Courage is that which enables a man to act well when in danger; but in this case the essential of danger was lacking. If to prove myself superior in muscular strength, why, I suppose nobody doubts that now. Besides, why should men be proud of that in which they are so much inferior to other animals? I know men whom either Mr. M. or myself could overpower, who yet are entitled to our highest respect; and others who could overpower us both, and who yet are despised by the whole community.

'DAVID HALE."

The commercial department of the *Journal of Commerce*, to which Mr. Hale gave his chief attention, soon began to attract the notice of business men as a most reliable source of information upon commercial affairs. At the time of the establishment of the Journal there existed a combination of the leading newspaper establishments of the city for obtain-

ing foreign intelligence; but it appears to have been rather a combination of laziness than of enterprise—the object being not so much to obtain news promptly as to insure that no one should obtain news to the disadvantage of the rest. From this association the *Journal of Commerce* was jealously excluded. But its proprietor, Mr. Arthur Tappan, was determined that nothing should be wanting for the success of the paper; and accordingly he employed a separate news-boat, well-manned, to cruise in the harbor for the purpose of hailing vessels as soon as they hove in sight and bringing their news to the city with the utmost dispatch. This boat, which bore the name of the Journal, was sustained at great expense for several years. Her cruising was always suspended on the Sabbath. By good luck, as men of the world would say, but rather by the blessing of Providence on industry and enterprise controlled by right principle, the *Journal of Commerce* in numerous instances obtained important intelligence in advance of the entire commercial press of New York, and thus established a character for energy and promptitude which proved invaluable. This was particularly noticeable with regard to the French Revolution in 1830; the news of which was brought to the city by the Journal's news-boat, and was read by Mr. Hale from the steps of the Exchange, while "extras" were preparing at the Journal office.*

During the exciting scenes of Jackson's administration, when the markets were affected by President's messages, cabinet councils, and senate debates, Messrs. Hale & Hallock established an express from Washington to New York, by relays of horses, thus bringing Congressional news to the

* As the Journal was then printed on a hand-press, not more than two or three hundred extras could be struck off in an hour,—a fact illustrating the wonderful improvements in machinery made within twenty years. Now ten or twelve thousand sheets can be worked in an hour by Hoe's Cylindrical Press.

Journal of Commerce from twelve to twenty-four hours in advance of the mail. By this bold and energetic policy, together with a strict regard for accuracy and veracity in all statements of fact, and a careful avoidance of panic and imposition, this Journal gained the confidence of the public in a degree seldom attained. Probably no Journal of the time has upon the whole exerted more influence on the politics of the country. Its entire independence of party politics has given more weight and authority to its opinions. As a matter of course it has been accused of vacillation and hypocrisy, by whichever party was obliged, for the time being, to encounter such a formidable opposition; but all parties have in turn been proud of its advocacy and aid. It was a circumstance which gave peculiar satisfaction to Mr. Hale in his last illness, that nearly every question of political economy and of public policy which he had discussed for twenty years had been settled in accordance with his own views of what was wise and right. This was particularly the case with the bank and tariff questions, in which he had taken a deep interest. He was a firm believer in the Free-trade system, and one of its ablest expounders. These subjects he had studied profoundly; not in books—for he had no leisure for that—but in facts and principles scrutinized and shaped in the laboratory of his own philosophical mind. Nearly every great truth which he uttered was, therefore, with him a discovery, an original thought; and he was wont to trace the deepest principles of his political economy to the Word of God.

There were questions of a mixed character, questions at once political, economical, social, and moral, upon which Mr. Hale's opinions and the course of the Journal of Commerce differed widely from those of the early friends and patrons of the paper, and of many leading philanthropists. His views on certain aspects of the temperance and anti-slavery movements were to some a matter of surprise and to others

a matter of grief and vexation. This is not the place to discuss those views; they will be given in full in a subsequent part of this volume. Suffice it to say—and this is the opinion of one who differed from him essentially upon these points—that, in treating of those vexed questions, Mr. Hale spoke and wrote in accordance with his own honest conviction of what wisdom, justice, philanthropy and Christianity required. It will be admitted that he discussed such questions with great ability. His course in relation to the late war with Mexico elicited the warm commendation of the Christian community. His appeal to his fellow-citizens to desist from that unrighteous war is a speaking monument of his boldness, integrity, and magnanimity.

His connection with a leading commercial paper in the commercial emporium of our country made Mr. Hale a prominent man in the community; and yet he owed his position to his own energy, perseverance, ability, and worth, rather than to any outward circumstances. Few men have come into this great metropolis who have made themselves *felt* as he did,—who have, to the same extent, attracted the attention and influenced the opinion of the public. It was a common inquiry with reference to any important public question, "What does *David Hale* say?" And though David Hale did not always say what pleased others, or what seemed to them right, he always did say something worthy of attention, and something which made an impression on the community. He had the reputation, too, of saying many ungracious things which he never did say; in short every thing severe, stern, positive, radical, in the *Journal of Commerce*, was imputed to him; and he was often distinguished from the Journal and made personally, and by name, the object of tirades on account of articles which perhaps he had not seen till they appeared in print. But he was little affected by such assaults, and least of all could he be deterred by popular clamor, or personal abuse, or threats of the with-

drawal of patronage, from a course upon which he had determined.

It was the endeavor of Mr. Hale to give to the Journal the highest possible value as a commercial newspaper; for he felt that its prosperity depended more upon a good reputation in that particular than upon the ability of its leading editorials. To accomplish this required years of enterprise, perseverance, and toil; but these were rewarded in the end with complete success. And here it should be noted that the success of the *Journal of Commerce* has fully demonstrated that a daily commercial newspaper of the largest class can be published without any work being done in connection with it on the Sabbath. This was a prime object with Mr. Arthur Tappan, in setting up the Journal; and Mr. Lewis Tappan, when he had control of the paper, was in the habit for months of closing the office, in person, on Saturday night, and opening it on Monday morning, so as to insure the cessation of all labor on the premises for twenty-four hours. The proprietors of the paper have always had regard to the Sabbath in their arrangements for procuring intelligence, even when they had a private express running in competition with the mail. This good example has had a happy influence on the newspaper press. The Sabbath is much less desecrated than formerly in connection with the daily press, though of late years the day has been more grossly violated by the publication and sale of Sunday newspapers. The interests of commerce can plead no necessity for the violation of the Sabbath. The publication of the *Journal of Commerce*, on Monday, is hardly delayed an hour by the intermission of labor at the office on the Lord's day, and its columns on that morning are as fresh and full as those of other newspapers. Mr. Hale always performed extra labor on Saturday in order to keep inviolate the day of rest.

But it is the religious character and life of Mr. Hale

that will possess the highest interest for most who read this volume. He did not lose his activity as a Christian in the laborious life of an editor. Action was his element,—in nothing more than in the high theater of God's purposes and of Christ's kingdom. On coming to New York he entered immediately into church relations here, and into the various departments of active Christian effort. He made his daily occupation subservient to the cause of Christ. Says Mr. Hallock, "His connection with the *Journal of Commerce* was doubly agreeable to him, because it gave him a two-fold power of doing good; first, by the moral, social and political influence of the paper itself, and secondly by the pecuniary emolument which it yielded."

Soon after the starting of the Journal, Mr. Hale removed his family to New York, and lived for some time in a plain way in the north-eastern part of the city. He united with the Seventh Presbyterian Church, then under the pastoral care of Rev. Elihu W. Baldwin, afterwards President of Wabash College, Indiana. At that time Mr. Hale attached but little importance to the distinctive principles of Congregationalism; he had never made them his study, and had no thought of becoming in any way an innovator upon the ecclesiastical usages of the city. In the opinion of one well qualified to judge, he probably did not then understand the difference between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism, and if he thought on the subject at all, it was only to adopt the current opinion that the former system was suited to New England alone, and never could be established on this soil. It is important that this fact should be distinctly marked. Mr. Hale loved Christian liberty, and had always enjoyed it. He felt it to be the duty of church-members to be active in all the affairs of the church, and he had never met with any official or ecclesiastical restriction upon his plans of usefulness. He was accustomed to pray and speak in social religious meetings, and to speak and vote in the busi-

ness meetings of the church; and this full Christian liberty was so natural and proper, so much a matter of course, that he had not been accustomed to trace it back to certain principles of church polity. He expected to find substantially the same freedom in the Presbyterian Church, and it was not till he had been hampered in various ways under the constitution of that Church, that he began to study the New Testament with a view to ascertain what principles were there laid down for the constitution and government of churches. Mr. Hale did not come to New York as a sectarian or a propagandist. The principles of Congregationalism were in a sense as original with him, as truly the result of his own reflections on the New Testament, as if he had been ignorant of the existence of such a system; for when investigating the subject of church polity, he went for information and authority, not to New England usages, but to the Word of God.

He was first led to scrutinize the Presbyterian mode of government by the summary manner in which he was elected an elder in the Seventh Church. Not having yet raised an inquiry as to the Scriptural warrant for the office of ruling elder, he had regarded the office with peculiar solemnity, and was therefore surprised at being informed in one breath, that he had been designated to this office, and that the congregation would be publicly notified of it on the next Sabbath morning, and he would be ordained in the evening. He not only felt that he needed time to weigh the question of acceptance, but that it was due to the congregation to allow them more time to form their judgment of his fitness, and to bring forward any objections to his ordination. He finally accepted the appointment, and was ordained an elder on the 11th January, 1829; and as the office of ruling elder is "perpetual, and cannot be laid aside at pleasure," and "no person can be divested thereof but by deposition," whatever

virtue and sanctity his ordination imparted must have adhered to him through life.

Soon after this event Mr. Hale removed his residence to the lower part of the city, at too great a distance for his family to attend the Seventh Church. Accordingly, much as they were attached to the church and its pastor, they were obliged to seek a more convenient place of worship, and as the first question with Mr. Hale always was, "where can I be most useful?" he decided to unite in a mission enterprise, then in its infancy, for building up a church (Presbyterian) in the Bowery. There he remained for some years, though with no little inconvenience, till several of the leading members of the church had withdrawn, and the church being heavily [illegible] with debt, there seemed no longer any hope of sustaining the enterprise. In 1836 the pastor—Rev. Dr. Woodbridge, of Hadley, Mass.—was dismissed, and in the year following the church was disbanded. Mr. Hale now attended on the ministry of Rev. Dr. Spring, but did not unite with the church under his care. Here for a time he was treated with marked attention, and was often invited to take a part in social meetings; but having on one occasion indulged in a freedom of remark about the state of the church, which gave offense to some present, he was thereafter doomed to silence by the most pointed neglect. In this situation he saw no prospect of usefulness for him in the Brick Church, and the question came up with renewed interest, "Where can I be useful?"

After wandering from church to church in quest of one that should be both congenial in its spirit, and promising as a field of labor, Mr. Hale began to attend worship at the Broadway Tabernacle, and much against the inclination of his family at the time, he decided to unite with the church there worshiping because he thought that there *he might be useful.* Little did he dream what great interests in the future were depending on that decision.

The BROADWAY TABERNACLE was erected in the years 1835–6, at an expense of upwards of sixty-six thousand dollars, exclusive of a portion of the land on which the building stands. The chief design of the founders of the Tabernacle was the extension of the Free Church plan, which at that time had been in successful operation for two or three years. A very large building, it was supposed, would furnish the means of instruction to the largest number of persons, at the smallest expense of money and ministerial labor. Another design was the accommodation of large bodies of Christians on anniversaries and other occasions. The building is one hundred feet square, with capacious galleries extending the entire circuit. About twenty-five hundred persons can be comfortably seated in it, and upwards of three thousand contained within the walls. It stands back from Broadway one hundred feet, having an entrance from the street twenty-five feet in width. By this arrangement a house of worship is placed in the very heart of the city, on its principal thoroughfare, and yet removed from the noise of the street.

The Tabernacle was first occupied by the Sixth Free Church, which adopted the name of the building. This church was mainly Congregational, though the deacons were made trustees of the property, and the board, for the sake of being better comprehended by the public, was denominated a session. This board of seven deacons, chosen annually, had, together with the pastor, the general oversight both of the spiritual and temporal interests of the church; but all ecclesiastical power, in the last resort, was vested in the church itself. The first pastor of the Tabernacle Church was Rev. Charles G. Finney, who, however, resigned the charge in the spring of 1837, in consequence of ill health. He was succeeded by Rev. George Duffield, who officiated as minister without being formally installed pastor

of the church. It was at this time that Mr. Hale united with the Tabernacle.

It soon became apparent that the pecuniary strength of the church and congregation was inadequate to the management of so large an establishment; and in February, 1838, an arrangement was made by which the Free Church, then worshiping on the corner of Dey and Washington streets, united with the Tabernacle Church. The Dey-street brethren insisted, as a condition of the union, that the united church should be Presbyterian; and this was assented to, with the proviso, that such principles of the Congregational order should be ingrafted "as should be approved by the united churches." The Dey-street Church brought with them their pastor, Rev. Mr. Helffenstein; but both he and Mr. Duffield not long after retired, and in the autumn of 1838 Rev. Joel Parker became the pastor of the church. At the same time the Free Church plan was abandoned in part, and the letting of pews substituted. The church was harmonious and prosperous for some months after Mr. Parker's settlement, and until some disciplinary movements on the part of the session produced dissatisfaction.

As this case was one of great notoriety at the time, and led to important changes in the Tabernacle Church and property, the leading facts connected with it should have a place in this narrative.* An anti-slavery society was about to be formed in the Tabernacle Church. The session being opposed to the movement, cautioned the church against it. This produced

* A regard for persons now living who were engaged in this controversy would lead me to avoid any allusion to it, were it not necessary for the proper vindication of Mr. Hale's character and conduct that the facts should be stated. I have omitted all personalities, and have given only a statement of facts from the best means of information at my command. It would not be strange if the recollections of the opponents of Mr. Hale should on some points be at variance with the memoranda which he made at the time.

much excitement among the friends of the society, one of whom, in particular, Mr. Lewis Tappan, then a member of the church, publicly denounced the course of the session as arbitrary, and insisted upon the right of forming such a society. At length Mr. Tappan was cited before the session as a disturber of the peace of the church, and a slanderer of its officers; but without being tried on the original charges, he was condemned for contumacy, and suspended from church privileges. From this sentence he appealed to the higher judicatories of the Presbyterian Church, and the decision of the session was finally reversed by the General Assembly. One great point in controversy was the right of Mr. Tappan to employ a reporter to attend on his trial before the session, and take notes of whatever should transpire. This right the session denied.

Mr. Hale, with his ardent love of liberty of thought and speech, and above all, liberty of Christian action, and with some personal experience of ecclesiastical dictation, could not remain an indifferent spectator of such an affair. He had no sympathy with Mr. Tappan's anti-slavery opinions or measures, and was not then on very friendly terms with Mr. Tappan himself. But he felt that great principles were involved in the trial, and that Mr. Tappan was wronged and oppressed by the session. After expostulating with the elders in vain, he availed himself of the provision in the articles of agreement between the united churches for occasional meetings of the whole church for business, and had a church meeting called by public notice "for the prayerful consideration of a case of discipline." At this meeting, held January 21, 1839, he introduced the reporter for the *Journal of Commerce* to take notes of the discussion. This was objected to by several, partly as a novelty, and partly because it was inexpedient to give publicity to church transactions. To the objection, that if reporters were allowed to attend church meetings, the 'penny papers' might have them

always present, Mr. Hale replied, "I should be happy if all the penny papers in the city would fill their sheets with reports of our prayer-meetings at all times. I fear they would find the matter too good for their purposes. Instead of telling that our prayer-meetings are private, and reporters cannot be admitted to them, I should be glad if the whole city were here on such occasions—and if we could not accommodate them all, I should be glad to have all we say and do reported everywhere through the newspapers."

By a vote of the church, the reporter was allowed to remain, and the debates of the evening were thus preserved. These were afterwards published by Mr. Hale, on a loose sheet, under the title of "Facts and Reasonings," which was very widely scattered.

The following is the report of the main speech of Mr. Hale at that meeting. It develops many important principles of church government:

MR. HALE then addressed the meeting as follows:

MR. MODERATOR,—I ask the kind attention of my brethren and sisters to the remarks I am about to make. It was for the purpose of making these remarks before them that I sought this meeting. We are in difficulty, and the best way to extricate ourselves appeared to me to be to hold a free discussion on the subject, to find out if possible the causes of our trouble, and if possible fix on some principles which will counteract these causes, and so guide us to harmony, and maintain that harmony hereafter. I am happy to see so large an assembly of my brethren, for the matters in hand concern us all, and I have been accustomed to put confidence in the whole church for the management of its affairs in times of difficulty, over and above any part or small proportion of the members. When all are assembled in a spirit of benevolence, we seek to promote the common good by the adoption of principles, which, in their bearing, are equal upon all; but when a portion of the community act in the name of the whole, it is often the case that the advantage of the few is too much consulted. Towards this church, in particular, my confidence has been constantly increasing ever since I had the privilege of becoming one of its members. I have found in all its course an earnest desire to do right, guided by a liberal intelli-

gence. Especially have recent events put the wisdom and kindness of its members to a severe test. We have passed through events which might have shaken any church. We have within a short space, upon prudential considerations, dismissed two pastors, to one or other, or both of whom, we were all warmly attached. When I saw my brethren come together affectionately, and sacrifice their individual feelings of attachment to those pastors, on the altar of the common good, I said within myself, "this church is worthy of my confidence, it may always be trusted." We are called upon now again, to sacrifice all personal consideration for our common good, and the honor of our common Lord. We are again in difficulty. Our minds are full of anxiety. When I contrast our present condition with the peace and harmony and joy which prevailed so recently, and which had been procured by our united action, I am overwhelmed with the contrast, and I resolve that if God will deliver us again, and bring us back to those heavenly places, I will try to be a better man than I have ever been. Such is the feeling, as I trust, which pervades the whole church.

It is painful to proceed to discuss in detail the causes of our unhappiness; but it is a necessary process, and I shall endeavor to go through it, speaking with the kindness and the frankness with which a friend and a brother ought to speak.

Our peace was first interrupted by the commencement of an anti-slavery society, to be formed in the Broadway Tabernacle Church. I do not impute moral blame to the brethren who were engaged in this, nor do I question their abstract right to do what they did: still I think it was an error to introduce the subject in this form, and an error exceedingly dangerous to our peace. This is the Broadway Tabernacle Church of Jesus Christ, not of Anti-Slavery; and it must always be dangerous for a church as such to depart from the single design of its formation. We are associated as a church, only for the worship of God, and an attendance on the ordinances he has established. There may be in our number some of all the various parties which divide our country. We have Whigs and Van Buren men, tariff and free trade men, abolitionists, and colonizationists. We differ about all these things and many more, yet there is one thing about which we all agree, and on this we unite. This is the corner-stone of our fabric, and while we adhere to it alone, we shall be likely to remain harmonious. In maintaining this unity of purpose, we sacrifice nothing of our opinions or our rights with regard to other topics. We are pledged to each other as a band of *Christians*, and whoever introduces any thing else into our association, however good or honorable it may be, *perverts the ends of the association.* This he ought not to do, and his covenant with the church does

in my judgment fairly preclude him from doing it. The same principle applies to all associations, and is necessary for their peace. If this were a society for literary improvement, there would be no doubt many other good things to which it might turn its attention, but if a member should attempt to appropriate the society to other purposes, he would introduce discord, and to that extent violate the spirit of his pledge given on entrance. I wish particularly to impress it on the minds of my brethren, that we are associated for *one* purpose and *no other;* and this truth must be far more widely considered than it has been, if the churches of our country are to have rest. Those things are no exceptions to this rule which are thought by their especial advocates to grow out of the Gospel, or to be essential adjuncts with it, or even forerunners of it. If they are not in the *pattern* as shaped by the Master, they have no business here. However good they may be, and however excellent their machinery, if it is thrust into the workings of the church, our machinery will be interrupted in its peaceful movements, or stopped entirely or broken to pieces. I hope with these views that our brethren who proposed the formation of the anti-slavery society will see the propriety of withdrawing it from this church, to set it up in greater strength, if they can, elsewhere, but in independence of this church.

I now turn to the other side, and it is with much pain that I feel myself obliged to animadvert on the conduct of brethren with whom I have acted in the closest intimacy, and whom I have been accustomed to love and respect. I allude to the measures of the session. It may be said perhaps, that what has been done by the session is not within the cognizance of the church, and not our business collectively, and that if wrong has been done, the party wronged has the right of appeal to another judicatory, where every thing will be corrected. But in my judgment it is not only our right, but our indispensable duty, to look into the treatment which every brother receives at the hands of the session. We have covenanted with each other, not with the session. You all stand pledged to me and I to you, that we will not see each other wronged, but will defend and watch over and protect each other. Under such a pledge, if I stand by and see my brother wronged, without interfering for his deliverance, my brother's wrongs will be required of me as a tacit accessory by his God. When we stood before the altar, we made a covenant with each other and with God, the keeping of which we cannot delegate to the hands of others. We must see to it for ourselves, that the covenant is fufilled.

On Sabbath morning the 16th of December last, after listening to a sweet discourse from our pastor, and when our feelings

were in as happy a state almost as is consistent with earth, the members of the church were requested to remain after the congregation had dispersed. On inquiring what was the subject to be brought before us, of an elder who sat by my side, I was told that the session had prepared a paper which they wished to read relative to the proposed anti-slavery society. I perceived at once that we were about to be plunged into a sea of trouble, and I well nigh resolved to step forward before the paper was read, and beg the church to retire, and save themselves from incalculable mischief.

But it required more courage to act thus in the face of my superiors, than at the moment I was able to muster. The admonitory letter of the elders was read, and I need not describe the instant and dreadful change which it produced in our feelings and our prospects. The sad excitement which immediately followed is fresh in the recollection of us all. There was no necessity for creating all this evil, on the part of the session. The circumstances required no such advice. The anti-slavery society had not been started with hostile intentions against the peace of the church. No such thing was suspected of more than a very small number; and if it had existed (which is wholly denied), it could not have been carried out, for there was too much good sense and good feeling among the members of the church, that such a design should have been in the least degree dangerous. I admit that the session had the abstract right to give advice, so have we all the same right; and others also have the same right to take or reject the advice. But the session were bound to think wisely and generously, and coolly, before they gave advice, which it was easy to see beforehand, would produce great commotion. The result of that Sabbath noon's advice, I thought then, would convince the session, that the advice I had previously given them, to let the anti-slavery society alone, would be seen to be judicious; but to my great regret I learned a day or two after, that the session had made another plunge, and cited Mr. Tappan to appear before them, to answer to charges which they would prefer. I thought it my duty to expostulate with the session on the course they were pursuing, and with the deep grief which I felt, to beseech them in the name of our peace, our usefulness, and the influence of the Gospel, by every thing dear to us as a Christian church, to desist from the perilous course in which they had started. It did seem to me that the path of duty was so plain, that no way-faring man had need to make any mistake. But my expostulations were on the whole set aside, as were all the calls of peace and usefulness, and a bill of indictment was found against our brother Tappan, and his trial commenced. I do not propose going into the investigation of the

charges. The trial of them will probably go on elsewhere. But of the *manner* of the proceedings on the part of the session, I will speak and speak fully, for that it is, which has brought the saddest afflictions upon us.

Christian discipline ought to be exercised with the greatest kindness. Never for purposes of party, or to gratify personal feelings, but for the two ends alone of the honor of religion, and the especial benefit of the brother accused. Church discipline is exercised in the name of Jesus Christ, and is in fact a part of His own system of means to bring His people to Himself. It should certainly be exercised in His spirit, and with all that generous compassion which He exercises always towards us all. Every thing should be done and construed in kindness and liberality. At least should there be as much lenity exhibited as is shown in the criminal courts of civil society, towards accused persons brought before them. But I am sorry to be compelled to the belief, that a very different course from all this was pursued by the session.

The session have not thought it best to lay before us any statement of their doings, and so in commenting upon them I am compelled to go partly upon what I know from my own observation—and partly upon such hearsay testimony as I can rely upon.

When the trial of Mr. Tappan came on, the session, not confining themselves to the bill of charges of which the accused had been notified, selected various expressions of his, uttered on the trial, and directed them to be entered on the record, as evidences of his litigious disposition.

[After several interruptions and explanations:]

Mr. Hale continued—In a criminal court an accused person would, under such circumstances, have been allowed to say, that he did not mean what the expression implied to which exception had been taken, or to express himself in so aggravated a manner. And the liberty to make such explanation would not be denied him in any criminal court in this country. In no such court would such illiberality be practiced, especially as, in this case, the record was the only thing which could appear before the higher judicatory. [Here Mr. Hale was again interrupted.]

In all courts where civil liberty is protected, if a man on trial is contumacious to the court, that is one thing; but if he says things which show a murderous disposition, they are never put on record, to prove that he committed murder. The whole trial and the penalty relate to what took place before the trial commenced. Misconduct at the trial is never put on record as a proof of the crime, nor punished as part of it. If a person manifest disrespect or contempt to the court, he may be sent to jail until he learns better. But what our brother said without being

contumacious, was written down as evidence of his litigiousness. And this was done to aggravate his guilt.

I never knew an instance, nor was there ever one, in any fairly conducted trial, in which a person on trial was refused the privilege of explaining what he had said. The principle is essential, not to fairness merely, but to truth, for very often a sentence, or part of a sentence, taken by itself, and without explanation, will convey an idea directly contrary to the idea in the mind of the speaker, and nothing can be more at war with simple truth, than the harsh refusal to allow an accused person the liberty to explain, that what he has said was spoken under a misapprehension, *in his own mind*, of the real state of the case, or that what he said was not the full expression of his meaning, but referred to something he had said before, or intended to say afterwards, and which other expressions were essential to the right understanding of his meaning.

Every explanation ought to have been received. In this case it was of essential importance from the fact that the record of the session was to be the whole case before the Presbytery.*

Another thing. Every member of the church, who could possibly be a witness for the accused, was excluded from the trial. Even the members who had been summoned were excluded.

I have it officially that the Moderator of the session did exclude the members of the church who were to be witnesses from being present at the trial, and he also excluded members who had not been summoned, as witnesses, upon the ground that possibly they *might afterwards* be summoned. The "book of discipline" shows great ignorance of principles in the rule it contains on this point, but it does not authorize the course adopted by the session. I say by the session, for orders given by the presiding judge of a court are given by the court. No such practice is allowed in civil or criminal courts, except in cases where there is supposed to exist a conspiracy among the witnesses either with or against the accused. The rule of the session carries on its face this unworthy charge against the members of this church, for certainly if the members who were sum-

* That this matter may be definitely understood I will instance an example. Mr. Tappan said on the first evening of the trial, that it would take until March to finish it. This expression the session directed the clerk to record, as evidence of a litigious disposition. When the session came to adjourn they adjourned until the next evening. On this, Mr. Tappan requested that it should be entered, that when he said it would take to March to get through with the trial, it was under the impression that the session would only sit one evening in a week as they had been accustomed to do; but if they should adjourn from evening to evening, a much shorter time would probably be required. This explanation the session refused to record.

moned could be relied upon to speak the truth, under all circumstances, there was no meaning in the order which excluded them from hearing the testimony of each other and listening to the trial. The principle adopted by the session of excluding those who might be witnesses, and requiring as they did the accused to enroll each particular brother or sister present as a witness at that time, or lose his right to do so afterwards, was harsh and rigorous, and a violation of the rights, both of the accused and the members of the church. The principle is ruinous to liberty, for it would be very easy to make it a pretense upon which all spectators should be excluded from court.

It is a matter of no dispute that our brother was refused the privilege of having a reporter to assist him in taking down a complete record of all that was said and done in the process of the trial. Every other person present possessed the right of making a full report, but to the individual on trial it was denied. I need not prove, to persons accustomed to notice the workings of such matters, that a court which should refuse to allow a full report of its proceedings to be made by impartial hands would not be very likely to make a full and fair report itself. Are not all the courts of this country, both civil and criminal, open to reporters? Is there any one of them, where a party interested, or a party uninterested, would be prevented from taking notes of all that transpired? Not one. It is an essential right in the protection of justice and fair dealing, and any civil or criminal judge who should infringe it would cover himself with the darkest suspicions, and be driven from his seat. The right is not less clear, nor less important, in regard to ecclesiastical courts. Their penalties, in a great measure, relate to reputation with the whole church and the world at large. It is therefore of peculiar importance, that the individual whose reputation is at stake should be able to show to all persons what was the evidence, and what were all the proceedings in the case. I should have felt alarmed, as our brother did, under that rule, and afraid to go on with the trial. I could not have felt secure in trusting to the records of a court, who had passed such an order. If I had been in the place of our brother, I should not only have felt at liberty to do as he did, but I should have felt compelled to do it as a matter of duty. If he had submitted to the order, he would not merely have given up his own rights, but my rights and yours. He would have admitted a principle which would have rendered us all insecure.

In demanding this vital right, and demanding it as a right, he did what every man who knows the worth of liberty, and the blood it has cost, would and ought to do. But why was this refusal to permit every thing to be taken down, and, if the ac-

cused pleased, reported to the world? Was any thing likely to occur which would not bear the light? Kindness and generosity do not spoil in the daylight, but become more fragrant, and even simple justice will stand the most intense rays of the sun, without losing its beauty.

If the accused had been guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, and that had been proved by the testimony, would the convicted man have desired to publish the proofs of his guilt? And if he had, would the court have any thing to fear from it, either for themselves, or this church, or the honor of religion? There could have been no good and honest reason for excluding the reporter. God himself has His reporter. In the book of His remembrance are written down all His dealings with each one of us, during our long and merciful trial, and He does it in order that at the last great day the record may be reported and published to the universe, to the utter confusion of all incorrigible criminals, and the vindication of God's rectitude, so that all good beings shall be surely convinced that His judgments are righteous, and so take part with Him. In the same manner will every tribunal act, whose measures are those of intelligence and rectitude.

A contrary course at once excites suspicion, and has in this case done dishonor to this church and our religion. These are my opinions of this matter of the reporter; and I am sure that unless we act upon them, we shall never be able to satisfy our own consciences, or make the world believe that what is done here is honest and of good report.

Under the circumstances which I have described, the session passed sentence against our brother, of suspension from the communion for *contumacy*.

They wronged him once, and because he, as an American Christian was bound to do, stood by his right, they wronged him again, and consummated the wrong by inflicting upon him the heaviest penalty within their power. This contumacy, be it remembered, was not against Him who spreads our communion-table with the emblem of His sufferings in our behalf, but against the session—that was all. I do not see what connection there was between the crime, if it had been one, and the punishment which was inflicted on account of it. I will only add, on this point, that the book of discipline authorizes no such sentence as this for contumacy.

As another wrong in this case, I have to state that notwithstanding the appeal which our brother has taken to a higher tribunal, the penalty of the session has been inflicted in the mean time to its fullest extent. No such thing was ever done in any court, where there was the least pretense of justice. An appeal is a continuation of the trial. The decision has not been reached,

and the "question of guilt or innocence" has not been settled until the ultimate decision has been obtained. I know very well that the book of discipline authorizes this, and it shows the extreme ignorance on the part of the men who made it, of the simplest elements of right and the commonest proceedings of courts. You might as well stop any where else and inflict a penalty as at the result in the first court. The plan of this proceeding is to punish first and try the accused afterwards, and find out whether he ought to be punished. I have never known of more than one case in a criminal court analagous to this. That was the case of two Indians who were tried in Georgia, under an iniquitous law of that State for driving off the rightful owners of the soil. Under this law the two Indians were found guilty, and the punishment was death. Their counsel appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, as they had a right to do, and if there had been justice in Georgia, the Indians would have been safe. But the Georgia court said, you may appeal as much as you please, but in the mean time we shall hang you. And so they did, and filled the whole land with abhorrence of the murderous deed. This to be sure is not a hanging matter, but it is a suspension of character. The news goes forth to the world that our brother is excommunicated, and yet the trial is pending, which I am sure will in the end reverse the sentence of the session. In the mean time he is driven from the communion as if he had been convicted, and his reputation suffers. After months, and perhaps years, the unjust sentence will, I have no doubt, be reversed, but the wrong which has been done can never be fully redressed. This certainly is great injustice.

Still more, and worst of all, I know that at least one of the judges had made up his mind and determined to convict the accused, before the trial commenced, for he told me that something must be done to break down the influence of Mr. Tappan. This was said to me, and repeated, without any charge of confidence being imposed upon me. Surely such a judge, or a court with such a judge upon its bench, was not fit to try any man. Such an individual would not have been allowed to sit upon the trial even of Coleman, who cut the throat of his wife at noon-day, and before a throng of witnesses. Any one who had declared beforehand that Coleman ought to be hanged would have been disqualified from sitting on the trial. Our rights are entirely insecure, if we may be called before men and tried by men who have, beforehand, determined that we must be broken down. I know that these statements produce painful emotions in the minds of many who hear me, as they do in my own. But it is indispensable that the matter should be thoroughly investigated. I respect my brethren who compose the session, and I am not dis-

posed to charge them with having done all these wrongs intentionally. But however honest they may be, I cannot feel at all secure, while the tribunal to which I may myself be responsible, so violates the principles which are the essential safeguards of my rights. I do not consider my reputation safe in their hands, and I know that other brethren feel the same alarm. We cannot settle down in peace, until we are effectually secured against such dangers. My deliberate opinion is, that if the session had resolved at the outset to do every thing wrong, they could not have accomplished that purpose more completely.

My desire and the object of the remarks I have made and shall make, is, if possible, to remove these dangers, and fix our relationship on such principles as will make us safe, and secure to us permanent peace. And to help us in our judgment allow me to point out the radical error of the session, which has led them into all these other errors. It was the want of confidence in the members of the church. The session feared that the ingenuity of Mr. Tappan would be sufficient to change our opinions, and bring us to act in opposition to them and our pastor. In this opinion they were probably very sincere; but unless I entirely overrate the intelligence of my brethren, the session were utterly mistaken in their low opinion of us. I know I am right about this, and it was entirely under the influence of fears growing out of this error that this prosecution was commenced. I combatted this error with the members of the session with all the power I possessed, at the commencement of this unhappy business. I assured them that they might rely on the wisdom, intelligence and piety of the church. If they had felt the confidence in us which they had reason to feel, this prosecution would never have been commenced. But they supposed us liable to be led astray —that there was a dangerous man among us, and that unless he were put down, we should all be corrupted by his influence, and brought over to wrong-doing. There are many men who can never comprehend how a community should live together in peace without being *governed*. A Frenchman who lands on our shores and sees no *gens d'armes*, thinks there is no government, and is afraid he shall be killed. He does not understand the workings of a system of liberty, where the laws being made by the people, they are for the good of the people, and all the people are engaged for their support. So it was with the session. They could not believe in the stability of our ungoverned peace. This brought the pressure of their power upon it for its preservation and crushed it to pieces. We know that mere sincerity in rulers is no guarantee that they will govern well. They must add to sincerity, intelligence, liberality and purity from prejudice. We had this truth strongly exhibited the other day in a sermon,

in which our pastor illustrated the guilt of prejudiced sincerity by supposing the case of an honest but prejudiced jury, sitting upon the trial of a fellow-being for his life, and he exhibited the climax of the illustration by the pungent inquiry, "who does not see that there was *murder* in that sincerity?" So giving our session all the credit for honesty which any one may claim for them; yet while they act under the prejudice which fills their minds respecting the real character of this church, while they believe us incapable of taking care of ourselves, there will ever be disorder and insecurity and oppression in their sincerity. Let them take a right view of our character, and then every brother and sister seems a police officer for the protection of the peace and order of the church. The men who have kindled the fires of persecution in past ages of the church were, many of them, possessed of this prejudiced honesty, and with many the prejudice was precisely the same prejudice which has led our session astray. Paul says he was honest in persecuting the church before his conversion, and still he confesses that for the exercise of this honesty he was unworthy to be called a disciple.

I, sir, cannot afford to bear the loss which must be sustained under such an administration of our affairs. I cannot afford to have the peace of the church thus destroyed. I cannot afford to have my pastor brought into the circumstances of danger to his influence, nay, of great and certain loss, which this state of things necessarily brings with it. I have seen a pastor, young, and standing in the midst of his flock in all the loveliness of mutual confidence, with no other rule over them, and desiring none, but that which was secured by his pious and affectionate care for their souls. I have seen such a man, startled by some leaf of opposition, begin to put himself in an attitude of caution, and to guard against popular excitement, and thus assume a position antagonist to his church, and I have seen him follow out his fears in the curtailment of their influence until he had robbed them of all their franchise in the election of their own officers, shut them out from the liberty of meeting to discuss their common interests, and well nigh taken from them the liberty of speech even in their social religious meetings. We cannot afford to have the active love and youthful vigor of the Tabernacle Church fall into such decrepitude, nor to have any part of so deadly a process pass upon us, and I will now submit three short resolutions, which I think will be an effectual bar to such a process, and will go far to secure our peace and prosperity hereafter. But first allow me to read sundry rules which were prepared by the session, and adopted by the church on a Sabbath morning, some time last summer, as I understand, for I was not present at the time, nor

was any other brother present who would be expected to take an active part in framing the proposed modifications. The paper is as follows:

1st. That God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in any thing contrary to his word, or bind it in matters of faith or worship—Therefore, we consider the right of private judgment in all matters that respect religion as universal and unalienable.

2d. That the Bible is the supreme and only binding code of laws for the government of the Church—so that in all matters of government and discipline the Church is bound to follow the rules of Christ, and no obligation can exist to do and submit to that which violates them.

3d. That each body of Christians meeting in one place, and united by love to walk together according to the rules of Christ's house, in subjection to him, is a church deriving from him the right to choose its own pastor and church officers, and to discipline its members—but that in the exercise of those rights, churches may agree to act through their representatives or elders, chosen out from among themselves for the purpose of promoting the general interest and the enforcement of the laws of Christ. And when difficulties may arise in the administration of discipline, application may be made for the aid of other churches, either through their representatives in Council, or in Presbyteries and in Synods, &c., agreeable to some plan approved and adopted by them for this purpose.

4th. That the form of government, and forms of process of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, as amended and ratified by the General Assembly, in May, 1821, and adopted by the Presbyteries, meet our approbation, and will be submitted to as far as the application and enforcement of the same shall not violate any of the rules of Christ's house.

5th. That in the administration of the discipline of the church by the elders or congregational assembly, who are the representatives of the Church, we hold the following to be the legitimate and proper application of Presbyterian government as laid down in that form of government and book of discipline. 1st—The pastors, elders, and deacons, are to be chosen by a majority of the votes of the members of the church. 2d—That the authority of the session is ministerial or declarative, and should be exercised by them under a sense both of their responsibility to the Head of the Church, and of the fact that they are the representatives of the people. 3d—That in all cases of offense, discipline should be commenced and proceed on the rule laid down in Matthew xviii. 15—18. 4th—That in cases of process against a member of the church, the meeting of the session shall be free to the entrance of any of the members of the church, who may wish to hear the testimony and witness the proceedings.

6th. Applicants for admission to sealing ordinances shall be examined by the session as to their knowledge and piety, and when approved shall be publicly propounded at least one Sabbath before their uniting with the church.

7th. An annual meeting of the church shall be held on the first Monday in April, when the session shall make an annual report in relation to the spiritual interests of the church; the deacons in relation to their trusts, and the trustees in relation to the funds and expenses of the congregation.

To this I propose to add the following as permanent rules:

Resolved, That the following be added to the permanent rules of the Tabernacle Church:

1. In the discipline of this church no member shall be obliged to make his defense before any judicatory other than the session of this church, and any member tried by the session shall have the right of appeal to the whole body of his brethren assembled in church meeting.

2. The first church prayer-meeting in each season of the year shall be a business meeting, at which any member of the church may introduce any proposition which he deems proper, and meetings for business shall be held at any other time by direction of a majority of the members present at any weekly prayer-meeting; but such meetings, other than at the commencement of each season, shall be notified on the Sabbath proceding their occurrence. The covenant or confession of the church or its permanent rules may not be changed, except at a meeting specially notified for important business.

3. At the annual meeting in April, a church clerk shall be chosen who shall record all the resolutions and other proceedings of the church in a book, which book shall always be accessible to any member of the church during ordinary business hours.

I have drawn the first of these resolutions in accordance with the principle which I have laid down, that it is the duty of the church to see to it, that its discipline is administered according to the principles of righteousness and the order of the Gospel. Without this rule we are none of us secure, for we are destitute of that essential guarantee of liberty, a trial by jury, or in other words, a trial by those who are of the same class with the accused. A member of this church, as the matter now stands, may be summoned before a court of Presbyterian elders for trial, and if he thinks they do him injustice, he may appeal to more Presbyterian elders, and then again to a still higher court, and then, if he pleases, to one still higher, but he everywhere finds himself in the presence of Presbyterian *elders*. However many times he may be tried, it is always by a class to which he does not belong. The sympathies of each court are with the other courts. The accused nowhere finds himself in the hands of the class who sympathize with him. Very seldom indeed, under such circumstances, will justice be done. In all governments where there is any pretense to liberty, in England, France, and the United States, this principle of trial by equals is held to be the very corner-stone of justice. In none of these countries would the citizens trust themselves in the hands of law judges merely. A jury is the palladium of liberty.

Another inalienable right of American Christians is, that of meeting freely for the discussion of all public measures. I have drawn my second resolution in accordance with this right. This right has in some churches been studiously abridged, lest the free discussions of the members should produce rebellion against the

eldership. Even in this church our young brother, who is both an elder and a trustee, stated to us the other evening, that it was incompetent to the church to hold meetings for business unless those meetings were called by the trustees, and another member affirmed that meetings could not be held unless with the approbation of the session. Notwithstanding these judicial opinions, it is necessary that we should have meetings whether the session or trustees will it or not. The house is ours, the business is ours, the interests are all ours, the session and the trustees are but our ministers. What authority have they to interrupt us, merely because we have committed to them the keeping of our key? Our young brother, who thinks we cannot meet without his consent, has no more right to prevent us from meeting, than his minister to whom he commits the keeping of his store key, has to assume, that liberty must be granted by him before the owner can enter his place of business.

My third rule provides for the safe keeping of our records, and their being kept always accessible to the brethren. All our records are now kept, so far as they are kept at all, by the clerk of the session. Those records are not within our reach. Although the book belongs to the church, and to me as much as to any brother of the session, yet I was unable to get access to it for the purpose of obtaining the information which I needed for this evening.

I have tried to see the book of records, and could not. It is no fault of mine if unfavorable inferences are drawn from the fact.

Now, in conclusion, I ask to have it remembered, that however much of mismanagement I have thought it my duty to lay at the door of the session, I have in no case charged them with improper motives, or an intention to do wrong. I have taken care not only to speak of them courteously and kindly, but to feel so towards them. I have, at the same time, stated to the church frankly my views of the origin and causes of our present disturbed and unhappy condition. I have also pointed them to the principles which, if adopted, according to my judgment, will bring back our peace, and insure its perpetuity.

[After a protracted and animated discussion, the Moderator put the question on the resolutions submitted by Mr. Hale, and declared the vote by voices to be in the negative. The result was doubted and a count loudly called for, but the Moderator did not notice the call, and so the meeting was immediately adjourned.]

Some months later Mr. Hale addressed to the members of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, a second number of

"Facts and Reasonings on Church Government," from which the following extracts, explaining and enforcing his own views and principles, are of general interest:

"*To the Members of the Tabernacle Church.*

"DEAR BRETHREN,—On the evening of January 21st, 1839, I had the satisfaction of stating to you my views of the origin and causes of the divisions which had so suddenly sprung into existence among us, and of offering to you, in the form of resolutions, the rules of practice which it seemed to me would restore the peace we had so recently possessed. I am still of opinion that those resolutions if adopted would have produced the good effects I promised, and so have saved us from much subsequent mischief. Whether they failed for want of a majority of votes at that meeting will never be certainly known, for the Moderator declared the result upon the general answer of 'yes' and 'no,' and silenced the calls for *a count*, by praying. On the first Monday evening of April afterwards, our annual business meeting occurred. I have annexed a report of the proceedings at that meeting, chiefly for the purpose of recording in a definite form the arbitrary claims set up by our session, and illustrating their operation. The question between us and the session is precisely the same with that between Luther and the Pope; the Puritans and the Hierarchy; the revolutionary patriots of '76, and Lord North. It is the question whether sovereignty is in the people or in their rulers; 'whether nations were made for kings and churches for priests, or priests for churches and kings for the people.' The doctrine that the people are the sovereigns, and have the right to manage their own affairs, is the doctrine of the Gospel, and of the most intelligent friends of its advancement. It was the doctrine of the men who landed at Plymouth, and will be maintained by their descendants, I trust,

> 'Till the waves of the bay where the Mayflower lay,
> Shall foam and freeze no more.'

At our meeting to which I have referred, in January, '39, the claim set up by the session was, that we had no right to *control* their proceedings. At the meeting in April, they took the higher attitude that we had no right to *discuss* them. I supposed that sober reflection must convince all intelligent men, not only of the falsehood of this doctrine, but of the folly of attempting to set it up, among Christians who had been taught from their infancy to abhor it. I waited therefore after the April meeting until the particular excitement of the day had subsided, and then called upon our pastor and several of the elders, in the hope that they

would be ready to take back, or at least to modify and define their pretensions in such a manner, that we could live together peacefully, and still be a free and active church. My hopes were disappointed. * * * * *

"This is not a question whether one set of officers or another shall be in the administration. Nor is it a question between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism. The constitution of Presbyterianism no more authorizes such absolutism than it authorizes the elders to burn us at the stake." * * * * "The noise and confusion of our April meeting was not made to keep me down particularly, but to keep *you* down, or rather to keep us all in a state of subjugation together. It will depend upon the lifting of our hands, whether we are thus subjugated, for whatever the eldership may arrogate, they know the fact, that the whole control over them *is* in the members of the church, and cannot possibly be taken away. You can do as you like, brethren, but I am free to say, that while I live, whether in church or state, whether in large communities or small, I will always resist such claims as are set up by our elders. Liberty has cost too much to be pusillanimously resigned. I love liberty in the churches. It is the bond of union and the spring of energy. I love it in all my fellow-men. I love it in myself, and I mean to keep it. I was born free and I mean to die free. I received liberty, civil and religious, from my parents; I intend to leave it if I can to my children. I contributed largely to the state of things which enabled this usurpation to be set up over us, and I do not intend to rest until I have fairly and fully thrown on you the responsibility of maintaining your rights or giving them up.

"As we are forbidden the privilege of conferring about our affairs when together, I have no alternative but to address you in this way; for although I have lost the proper liberty of speech when within the walls of the Tabernacle, I have a press in my own building which goes by steam, and the elders cannot stop it.

"Let us reason together then respecting the interests of our beloved church, and the measures of our officers, so far as reasoning can be useful, and find out what we ought to do. If you turn away from the discussion, you do it at your peril. You all love peace, and so do I. But we are enlisted as 'soldiers,' and if our Master commands we must contend. Many a soldier has become a strenuous advocate for peace when he was afraid of the battle, and many a Christian has thought himself entitled to the blessing which belongs to the 'peace-maker,' who will be disappointed by getting only the reward of the 'slothful servant.' It is cowardice and indolence in his bosom which many a man mistakes for Christian love of peace. If we really love peace according to its inestimable worth, we shall take care that it is established on

the eternal basis of *truth*. There is no peace to the wicked—there is no desirable peace in falsehood—there is no peace worth having to a slothful or an enslaved church. *Righteousness* and peace must meet and kiss each other, if we are to enjoy the influence of either. With the action of such a falsehood as the session have introduced as the main principle of their relation to us, there never can be any peace but the peace of death. The great interests of the Tabernacle have been committed to our hands. We have solemnly promised to watch over them and each other, and woe unto us if we fail to understand our duty!

"It would be impossible to follow our officers into an examination of all their measures. I shall only touch upon several events well attested. The two churches (Tabernacle and Dey-street) were united upon the basis of a written covenant adopted at a meeting of delegates and afterwards ratified by the churches respectively. The fourth article of the covenant is in the following words: 'The two churches to be connected with the Third Presbytery of New York, *it being understood that such principles of the Congregational order shall be engrafted, as shall be approved by the united churches.*' The brethren who now assume to rule us say that the condition in italics they never intended to comply with. They acknowledge that I, and those who acted with me, refused to consummate the union, without this condition; but that the committee who met them said that after all, nothing was meant by it. I deny this verbal nullification. The story is absurd on its face, though honestly stated, I dare say. Our written covenant of union, therefore, though fulfilled on the one part, remains broken on the other. I claim of the members from Dey-street, that the church should be assembled calmly to deliberate on this covenant. If, on coming together, the church prefer to make no modifications, the covenant will, notwithstanding, have been kept. The stain of unfaithfulness will have been wiped away.

"The administration of the session is but little known to us, except in their measures towards Mr. Tappan. There are certain prominent points in that matter which demand our consideration. The long details have been attended to by Mr. Tappan himself. They have been managed by him with a degree of talent, energy and good temper which have seldom been equaled. He has triumphed amply. I rejoice in his triumph, for his sake and the sake of religious liberty, and Christian rights everywhere. The controversy was for principles, as important for me as for him. He fought the battle alone, but for us all; and I thank God that a mouth and wisdom were given to him which all his adversaries were unable to gainsay or resist. The verdict of the highest Presbyterian judicatory has stamped the whole prosecution as

wrong and oppressive. The opinions and arguments which I spread before you on the 21st of January, therefore, have been sustained, not as mere Congregationalism, as you were told, but as sound Presbyterianism also.

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"By the events which have taken place, our session have, according to their own declaration, lost the power of conducting discipline, and so we are in fact without this most important prerogative. Mr. Tappan you will recollect was never tried on the charges tabled against him, but was 'excluded for *contumacy*,' he having insisted on retaining a *reporter* at the trial, contrary to the order of the session. The General Assembly reversed the decision of the session; and then Mr. Tappan demanded to be tried on the original charges, alleging that as those charges had been promulgated to the world, it was due to his own reputation that the truth in the matter should be judicially ascertained. This demand was most reasonable; and as necessary for Mr. Parker as for Mr. Tappan. The session however refused to take up the trial, and recorded a set of reasons for the refusal, among which was the following:—'The session are deeply convinced that it is *beyond their power* to attain the ends of salutary discipline in the trial, inasmuch as the General Assembly have not sustained them,' and again—'while therefore the session *feel as strongly as ever the importance* of investigating these charges, yet they do not see any other course which they can wisely adopt, but to discontinue the prosecution, because, *painful and humiliating as it is to abandon the investigation of grave charges on account of the turbulence* of the person accused,' &c. 'Painful and humiliating' truly. It seems impossible that the members of a court should record their inability thus, without giving up their claims, not merely to peculiar and exclusive wisdom, but to any competency for their office. But whatever the session may think of themselves, the church is evidently without the power of discipline, for although this broken-down court might possibly manage the sisters of the church, or the poor brethren, yet if there be a 'turbulent' spirit among us, a brother who will contend for his rights as a giant, then the session must again come to the painful and humiliating conclusion, that such a man is too much for them. But how preposterous is the plan upon which our discipline is conducted, even when successful! In their annual report the session said, if I remember right, that '*four*' had been cut off. But who they are, whether it is you, or I, or brother B, or brother C, nobody knows. They summon a member into the secresy of the session-room and there excommunicate him, and he counts *one* in the list of subjects; but the transaction is kept a profound secret, and the book on which the record is made no-

body can see! Was ever such innocent discipline heard of before? The whole force of church discipline so far as penalties go, consists in public exposure and condemnation: for let us remember that our relationship to an exscinded brother is not ended, nor our duties done. The Gospel points out the manner in which such persons are to be treated when discipline is righteously administered. Is it true, then, that the session are so irresponsible to the church as not to be obliged to tell us the names of the excommunicated? Ought a report, so deficient, to be *accepted?* Methinks the tremendous responsibility of exercising discipline in Christ's house is sometimes but little appreciated. There is too much reason to believe that in many churches it is made an instrument of partisanship, of shutting up opposition and of destroying rivals. Often its hottest violence has been exercised towards the most conscientious members of the church if their regard for their Savior forbade them to submit implicitly to the chief priests and elders. What can men be thinking of, who touch with careless or selfish or angry hands the ark which has written upon it, 'whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he drowned in the depths of the sea.'

"Let us look now a little at our condition. The peace we possessed immediately after the settlement of Mr. Parker, and which might now have been flowing like a river, is dried up, never to return, without a great change of management. About sixty members of the church, comprising a most important portion of its active piety, have left us under deep feelings of injury. Our religious conference-meetings are ended. Eighteen months ago we conversed freely together in our religious meetings, and the members of the church were invited to speak often one to another. Now no voice is heard but that of the pastor, and at intervals that of an elder, and no opportunity is given for any other. The only exception to this is, that three times, if I recollect right, in nine months, I have felt impelled to say a few words myself, though during all that time my pastor has not invited me to take any part at all, not even to pray on any occasion, though he formerly called on me as often at least as on any other brother. I have not, so far as I know, remitted any courtesy due to him, nor done any thing which ought to forfeit the esteem of a generous mind. Yet it would seem that controversy and personality have been brought into all our meetings. Such is our social condition. The large number of colored persons which once filled a whole section of our house, and by their presence testified to the kind and paternal character of the church, have withdrawn. Their presence was to me a more honorable testimony to our Christian character than an equal number of persons would have

been, whose coaches were drawn up before our door. They have been treated severely. Our trustees refused them leases of pews, except on the condition, that if they allowed a white person to sit with them but for once, the lease should be forfeited. Their children were disobliged in the Sabbath-school, and their feelings in various ways needlessly, and I think ungenerously, wounded. Our Sabbath-school has dwindled to a small affair. The few accessions to the church must be hardly sufficient to keep our remaining numbers good. And still the kindest counsel which those who are not pleased can get, is, that they had better go away. Not an iota of concession is thought of; nothing but a harder and still harder turn of the screws. To sustain this ruinous usurpation, we are forbidden to express our views to each other, even in our annual business-meeting. I have good reason for believing that our last annual meeting was conducted on a plan previously agreed upon by the pastor and elders. I stood on the floor for an hour and a half, contending for our common right of speech, and during that time, while according to well-settled principles, I had the exclusive right to speak, motions were made and received by the Moderator, and by him put to vote, and the whole business of the evening forced through. It is the chief duty of a chairman to preserve order, and maintain *individual rights*, and unfaithfulness and partisan acting in a chair is considered by all honorable men, as dishonorable above ordinary dishonor."

After alluding to the financial condition and prospects of the church as requiring harmonious action, and making a strong appeal to the church to rally and sustain the enterprise, the address proceeds:

"If you ask me why I do not leave the church as I have been so liberally advised to do, my answer is, first, I choose to stay. I choose to do so, because I have been here longer than most of my brethren who wish to get rid of me, and there is not another church to which I wish to go. Because I love the Tabernacle Church, its choir, its services. The example of good men teaches me to stay where I am, and seek to correct what is wrong. I have no doubt that my opinions and feelings substantially agree with those of the great mass of the church, except when a contrary feeling has been induced by misapprehension. I know you are the friends of liberty. No church is more democratic than the Tabernacle. I have never yet proposed that the church should become Congregational in its organization, nor do I suppose that my brethren and sisters have the strong opinions which

I have on that subject, or that many of them have troubled themselves to study the difference between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism. Yet I know, that generally you believe in the right and the capacity of the people to govern themselves in accordance with the earliest lessons of infancy throughout our country. If you do, you are Congregationalists, whatever you may call yourselves. At any rate, I cannot doubt that you will retain the liberty of thought, speech and action, committed to your hands. If you ask me the motive which stimulated me to so much labor in opposition to the policy of the session, I answer, it is not that I want their offices, for they were offered to me and urged upon me at the organization of the united church, but I declined them. I do not know the office on earth which I desire for its personal importance or consequence. I am exceedingly well satisfied and happy in all the allotments of Providence. I have not separated from my former friends of the session and resisted their measures, carelessly, or for small reasons, or for selfish ends. If any Christian were to take the responsibility which I have taken without much prayer, severe self-examination, and perfect disinterestedness, he would be exceedingly culpable. But it has cost the blood of better men than I, and thousands of them, to secure my liberty and yours, and cost it in contending for just the same principles for which I contend against the session. My blood will not be called for in maintaining these principles, but, if it were, I should feel that the cause was worth the sacrifice.

"Our security in both our civil and political relations *depends on the maintenance of correct principles.* If the *constitution* be good and carefully maintained, the men who administer government can do no great mischief. So 'principles, not men,' is the sound truth which all political parties are desirous of inscribing on their banners, though to be sure, they generally *act* upon exactly the reversal of the motto. The patriots of the revolution commenced that war for this as a prominent reason, that the Parliament of Great Britain imposed a duty of *a penny a pound on tea* imported into the colonies. They did so, not to make tea cheaper, for the war cost more than all the tea they used during the whole course of their lives; but because the duty was demanded in violation of a principle, which principle was the essential protector of all their property and rights. We hold our property securely because it is a well settled principle, that what a man buys, and pays for honestly, is his, and no one has a right to interfere with his possession of it. The multitude who throng Broadway pass unmolested and secure, because it is a well settled *principle* that every one shall turn to the right. What if some charioteer should get the notion that he was king, and every one

must turn out for *him*, and so should drive pell-mell through Broadway? What cries, what fleeing, what upsetting, what ruin would strew his course. If there were to come into your house at evening, a man who you knew claimed all your furniture as his, could you go to rest quietly? There have come into the Tabernacle a set of men who claim that all our rights are *theirs*. Rights worth more than household furniture: the right of speech, the right of deliberating together, the right of understanding and managing our own affairs. If an individual gets the notion that he is a king, we call him crazy. Though never so sane on all other subjects, we refuse to trust him, especially in any matter touching his derangement; and we even consider his delusion so dangerous that his best friends will watch him closely, and perhaps confine him in a mad-house, for no one can tell what he may do. He may perhaps think it right to cut off the head of some refractory subject, and that subject of his imaginary kingdom may be his wife, or his son, or neighbor. We had a most melancholy story in the newspapers lately, of a very good man who under some such delusion murdered his wife. Our session have imbibed the notion that they are something like little kings in the midst of us, and it renders every one around them insecure. Under the influence of this delusion they did attack Mr. Tappan, but he was a strong man and so escaped. If we ask them for information, they tell us we are accountable to them, not they to us; and if we urge our right to speak and vote, they call it lynch law. They seem to count opposition to them a *crime*, conducted never so courteously. No present calm, no seeming or real kindness, can ever satisfy a wise man, while he knows the *principles* of those around him are unsound.

"I cannot think of any privilege which the session acknowledge as ours on the ground of *principle* and *right*, which Popery does not allow to its votaries. We are denied the right of *speech*, and the right of *voting*, so as to have our votes really ascertained, and of voting at all in fact, for our pastor asserts the right of putting an end to church meetings at his own will. I was told, to be sure, by my pastor, and some of the elders, that I could talk with the members of the church *individually*, but now that I have set about it as my only way of conferring with them, it is intimated to me that this is a disturbance of the peace of the church, for which I am liable to discipline. I am taunted publicly with inviting the brethren to my house, and meeting them elsewhere, for consultation, as if this were not my right. Because I oppose *measures* which seem to me ruinous to the church, I am charged with opposing my *pastor*, and called a 'demagogue.' Every thing is attempted to be made into a personality. The courteous expression of my opinion is called 'vituperation.'

Is not every thing perverted in this way and all rights denied? I may not address you orally—think you the session would let me *print* this address if they could help it? The prosecution against Mr. Tappan was avowedly 'to put him down,' and it was avowed by several of the elders that it was necessary to do so, because if something was not done Mr. Tappan would poison the minds of the church and '*get a majority.*' All this was said freely at the time, without any apparent consciousness that it was wrong. Why should not I be put down, also? I am laboring for the same end, and hope to accomplish it, and I claim it as *my right*, secured to me as an American Christian, and it is one I mean to use as far as duty requires it, however much it may be denied, and, when it can be done, trampled on. I ask now what *right* any one of us possesses, as a member of the Tabernacle Church, and with the acknowledgment of the session, but just the right to *listen* and to *obey;* and as to the first of these it is just as easily taken away as the rest. The last I think the session will never deny us. The right to personal liberty and life we possess under the guarantees of civil law. If we held *them* only by the guarantee of principles recognized by the Tabernacle session, they would stop short of most other ecclesiastical courts who have possessed civil power. Thousands of Christians have paid the penalty of liberty and life, for having dared to exercise the rights which God gave them, in opposition to ecclesiastical usurpation. Our session have gone in the same path until the wall of civil protection has stopped them. How much farther they would go if they could, it is not of great importance to determine. In my judgment, no one of us will retain the right to oppose their measures but by *his own strength* and *God's blessing* on the means within his own power.

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"In some respects the proper character of a church is illustrated by the quiet, inoffensive, and docile temper of sheep. But they should not in all respects resemble sheep. They should not allow themselves to be *sold* as sheep are, nor should they with the same heedless *confidence* follow a leader, lest they fare like the flock which was quietly trotting across a covered bridge over the Connecticut, when the leader perceiving something ominous before him, and an open window at his side, leaped out of the window—the next followed, and the next, in regular succession, and directly the whole flock found themselves floating down the cold stream together. Whatever else got wet on that occasion, I presume the self-complacency of the leader was not at all damped.

"The remedies I have to propose are in substance the same which I proposed at the great meeting on the 21st of January

1839. Not that you should make *me* king. That would be as foolish as to allow any other brother to fill that office. Not a revolution, not popular excitement, not Congregationalism necessarily, nor any of those things which have been held up to terrify you into voting your rights away and turning your backs on your duty. To be sure, I think Presbyterianism in all its distinguishing roots and branches bad. Not so much, as it lies in the *book*, but as it is acted out by those who in its name assume to set its constitutional restraints aside. But whatever we may be, let us maintain the clear truth, that our house belongs to us, not to the trustees, that our spiritual interests and all our affairs are at least to be understood and watched over by the whole church, and that we have and will ever use the liberty of speech freely, and at least claim the right to *express our opinions and give our advice.* To insure this, we want

"1st. A church clerk, in whose hands the records of the church shall be accessible to each member at all proper times, and a church organization, and the means of holding church meetings, without so exceedingly improper a surveillance as *asking leave* of the session or trustees.

"2d. A regular succession of *business-meetings* recurring once in three months, for instance, at which any member shall be at liberty, courteously and according to the established rules of order, to present his views on any church matter without hinderance or offense.

"3d. The enforcement of the standing rule now in existence, which requires each board of officers to make a report at the annual meeting. These reports should be full, extending to all matters which have occurred, especially if interrogations are sustained by a majority of the church.

"There is nothing anti-Presbyterian in all this. Farther, it is a reform recommended by many Presbyterians, that elders should be elected annually. This would be a most desirable and proper change.

"Still farther, we shall never be safe in our rights, according to the united voice of all the advocates of liberal institutions, until we have the trial by jury. It is monstrous that Christians should be liable to excommunication by a court which is a *party* in the controversy. It would be a simple thing to let the church clerk draw a panel of twelve brethren, whenever so desired by any member arraigned for discipline, which panel should pronounce guilty or not guilty, the session conducting the trial as a court and adjudging penalties. No one of us can be muicted in any of our criminal courts until twelve men, not law judges, but our equals, have pronounced us guilty. Should not a member of the church be treated with as much care as any other

citizen, and should not church courts be as liberal as the Recorder's Court at the halls of justice in Center street?

"Adopt these principles and they will make no uproar. If you lift your hands it will be done, and instead of confusion they will bring us peace. If they had been adopted by the church soon after the union, it is my firm belief, that we should now have been a united, vigorous and happy church. The reason is that these are the principles of everlasting truth, and truth brings peace.

"*Brethren of the Session*—

"I have looked over all I have written with great care, and in my judgment the statements are quite within the truth. If I have fallen into the least error unfavorable to you, I shall be ready at all times and with all the means in my power to correct it. If there is severity in what I have written, it is not in the manner but in the matter, and that you made, not I. If religion is dishonored by the exposition of your proceedings, that fault is yours again, not mine. But I have made up my mind that religion has suffered more by covering the faults of its professors than from a fair and manly exposure and condemnation of them. The iniquity of David was not hidden to save God's honor. You and I may have a dreadful account to give for the manner in which we have conducted as members of the church, but the religion of Jesus Christ will not die with us, nor on our account; nor will great scandal be fastened upon that, necessarily, because it is fastened on you or me. I acknowledge my obligation to treat you with kindness as brethren, and not interrupt or hinder you in the proper discharge of your official duties, nor even needlessly to expose the wrongs of your administration. But there is nothing in our relationship which elevates you above fair and candid scrutiny, whenever the good of the church requires it. Indeed all offices are taken with that consent. Then, cease to talk of 'great scandal' being brought on *religion* by 'Facts and Reasonings,' or 'reports,' truly made, of what you have done. And cease to talk so much of 'contumacy' as if it were a mighty sin to refuse obedience to your ecclesiastical usurpations. Such contumacy has been a distinguishing characteristic of the Christian religion from its foundation. No people were ever so contumacious as Christians. The martyrs have all died in it and generally for it. When the apostles were imprisoned and beaten for contumacy, and the High Priest and Council demanded of them, Did we not straitly command you?' their answer, always manfully given, was 'we ought to obey God rather than man.' Jesus Christ uniformly took part with the conscientiously contumacious, and many a martyr has gloried in the loss of all things for this cause and in death itself, knowing that the torch of frown-

ing priests and councils would light him to the smiling commendation of his Savior. In His high court of last resort, the doctrine of 'submission *right or wrong*' was never recognized.

"Now let me ask you, what you desire to bring about? Would you transform the Tabernacle Church into a company of unthinking, servile automatons? Is that what Presbyterianism demands? I would rather be pastor of a little thinking, scrutinizing and intelligently affectionate church, in any valley of New England, or hold influence there, 'by the divine right of superior piety and wisdom,' than to sit on the throne of Rome and be obeyed and hated through an empire. God will have none but a *willing* obedience towards his government. When men complain of his government, his reply is, 'come let us reason together,' and he has appointed a day in which before the assembled universe the books shall be opened and he will make his great report. Then every mouth shall be stopped, not by rules of order, but by the *revelation of the righteousness* of his judgments. Does Presbyterianism elevate you to an irresponsibility above that which Jehovah claims? He does not call popular opinion lynch law. Then *open your book* and put down those who oppose you, as He will those who oppose Him, by showing that you, like Him, have been long suffering and slow to anger, and of great kindness, not willing that any should be excommunicated, but that all should be brought to repentance. Suppose you could succeed in establishing the doctrine of absolutism which you have got up; there is no lineal descent of authority here, and my sons will perhaps be elders in the next generation, to domineer over yours. Is it a speechless obedience to my children which you would leave as an inheritance to yours, for the sake of exercising authority over me yourselves? But what have you to gain by putting down discussion? There can be but three possible reasons for it. Either your measures are bad, or you have not ability to defend them, or the church have not intelligence and honesty to appreciate your defense. Your unwillingness to have your measures discussed will in itself be very apt to create the impression beforehand, that your weak point is a consciousness that your measures will not bear investigation. But whether they will or not, do you gain anything by transferring the discussion from the lecture-room to the press? from free and amicable debate, where all parties are present, to ex-parte conversations out of doors? I can say sincerely that the perfect success of your arbitrary doctrines would bring nothing with it which has the least charm for me. To stand up in the church and by good reasons persuade it to adopt wise measures, has interest about it, but to compel submission to measures good or bad, by violence, or trick, or official force, is so out of place among brethren in the

Church of Christ, that, painful as it is, I had rather be the slave than the master. I declare to you, that, from the beginning of the controversy, I have never been able to perceive anything desirable which you could possibly gain by your measures, and certainly there is nobody who is less exposed to personal loss from your success than myself. On the contrary, I am sure of success in my plans. Whether the Tabernacle Church asserts its rights or not, Christians elsewhere will be put on their guard. I have already seen triumphs of truth enough to teach me, that if it is slow it is nevertheless *sure.*

"Our real interests in the Tabernacle are all the same, if only we all had the liberality to understand them right. This fact is so very clear to my mind, that I cannot but hope that at some day not very distant, we shall all labor together again with a better spirit than ever before. Yet I do not hesitate to say, though no man should stand with me, my hand, feeble as it is, shall ever be against every man who seeks to rob the church of its birthright, liberty of thought, speech and action. My motto in religion as well as politics shall be, 'Liberty and union, one and inseparable.'

"*Brethren of the Church*—

"Whitefield said of things in his day, 'The Pope has turned Presbyterian.' It is easy to find him in all denominations, for every man by nature would be a pope if he could. So let us not waste our ammunition in long shots against an evil in Italy which may be growing up at our own feet. Pardon this long address. I could not make it shorter, and it is but little labor for you to read it, compared with what it has cost me to write it. I shall certainly expect from you this requital. All I have to say more is, examine for yourselves. Divest your minds of all prejudice and personality. Study your duty to yourselves and your Master in Heaven. As intelligent and independent Christians, worthy of your high vocation, *find out what is right,* and DO IT."

These "Facts and Reasonings" will enable the reader to judge how far Mr. Hale was responsible for the controversy which distracted the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church. His conduct in bringing the case of Mr. Tappan and the doings of the session before the body of the church was neither presumptuous nor disorderly. When the Tabernacle and Dey-street churches were united, the right of holding church-meetings for business was distinctly reserved, and also the privilege of engrafting on the constitution of the

new church such principles of the Congregational order as should be approved by the united churches. Mr. Hale felt deeply that the liberty and peace of the church were endangered by the course of the session towards Mr. Tappan; he saw that the interests of the Tabernacle must greatly suffer from a controversy which threatened to agitate the whole Presbyterian Church; he was anxious to avert these evils, and being convinced that the policy of the session could not be justified—as it was not by the General Assembly—he expostulated with the elders individually and entreated them to desist; when these efforts failed, he brought the matter before the church at a meeting duly notified for the prayerful consideration of the case; in his remarks on that occasion he violated no rule of Christian decorum, but spoke calmly and kindly, though with great plainness and decision, setting forth his views of the causes of existing difficulties, and suggesting a remedy. In all this he acted on his own responsibility, without consulting with Mr. Tappan or forming a party in advance. Deeming individual liberty insecure under such a precedent of discipline as that which the session were then establishing, he laid down certain principles in the form of resolutions to guard the church in future. This was in accordance with the terms of agreement between the united churches, and Mr. Hale was always of opinion that the majority of the church would have sustained his resolutions if the vote had been taken by count.

After this meeting Mr. Hale was looked upon as inimical to the session, a disturber of the church, and even a disorganizer. His own liberty of speech in church-meetings was infringed upon by various expedients, and the few reserved rights of the church were hurriedly voted away. In this state of things there could be no peace. Matters of public discussion became matters of personal difference; brethren were alienated by conflicting views of policy. In a contro-

versy so protracted, and in the end so bitter, it would have been strange if Mr. Hale had not erred at times by being too violent or too severe. Yet it is plain that he acted from a conscientious regard for Christian liberty, and that he was mainly in the right. He valued the peace of the church, but he valued truth and justice more. He once said to the writer, "No man loves peace more than I do, or will make more sacrifices to obtain it; or will fight harder than I when duty calls me."

But during all this controversy, Mr. Hale endeavored to maintain a Christian spirit. He was not disposed to find fault with his pastor, but on the contrary cordially to sustain him in every thing which did not involve a sacrifice of principle. He felt particularly happy in the settlement of Rev. Joel Parker over the Tabernacle Church. In a letter to his son, dated October 19, 1838, he says, "We have Mr. Parker settled with us at the Tabernacle, and I feel very happy in his labors. He is a man of very sweet temper, and quiet, ardent piety." The serious difference in which he was afterwards involved with a pastor whom he so highly esteemed, and whom he regarded as preëminently fitted for his station, was exceedingly trying to Mr. Hale. It grew out of a conflict of opinion upon vital questions touching the rights of individual church-members, the occasion of which has been described. That Mr. Hale was desirous of an amicable adjustment of the difficulty is apparent from the following note, written when he felt aggrieved by the course pursued towards himself in the meetings of the church:

"*New York, Oct.* 25, 1839.

"DEAR PASTOR,

"The interview I had with you and Dr. B— in your study has been a source of great comfort to me, during all the painfulness of our subsequent controversy.

"The affairs of our church have now arrived at a stage which makes me desirous of having another conversation with you. My object, now, is as frank and friendly as before. It is first to

remove from your mind the wrong impressions which I think it likely are there, respecting my conduct. Secondly, to see if it is not possible by mutual generosity to agree on some plan which may effectually heal the divisions of the Tabernacle Church. And thirdly, I am obliged to say that after mature deliberation, and as much charity as I am able to exercise, I cannot view several of your acts otherwise than as trespasses against me of which I ought to tell you, in the hope that my opinions, if erroneous, may be set right, and if not that you may be persuaded and gained to correct views.

"I pray you, sir, pardon the frankness of this letter, and attribute it to the feelings of a faithful brother towards his pastor, who, although, in some measure alienated, has still left a strong desire that the cordiality which existed when our relationship was formed may, if possible, be restored and perpetuated. I have adopted this method of laying my proposal before you, that you may the more freely deliberate upon it; and may the Holy Spirit teach us both our need of His help, and prepare us for His service in the Tabernacle Church, or wherever else He may assign us our place.

"Your faithful brother,
"DAVID HALE."

The following extracts from letters addressed to his son, pending the controversy, will further illustrate the spirit by which Mr. Hale was actuated, and the principles for which he contended:

"We have very good preaching at the Tabernacle, and in religious privileges are very happy, though I am having no small controversy with our pastor and elders, in consequence of their ultra-Presbyterian measures, which have been quite tyrannical. I hope you will be an advocate everywhere of self-government on the part of the people, of democracy, of Congregationalism, and the government of the people everywhere in church and state. Rich men will oppress, and a love of power and domination is too deeply fixed in us to be extirpated entirely by all the grace we get in this world. As you say, God has given all His creatures the means of happiness, for all have the means of keeping His commandments.

"I trust the whole matter will turn out for the furtherance of the Gospel. It is a glorious thing to have the Spirit of Jesus Christ, holy, harmless and separated from sinners. I hope all that we learn of the weakness and wickedness of men will serve, not to make us misanthropic nor discontented, but to turn us

more in faith and love towards Him who is ever faithful, and wise, and mighty, and to make us contemplate more affectionately His noble conduct, who endured worse contradiction from sinners, under circumstances eminently calculated to sour all His benevolence, and transform it to the bitterest wrath. But His spirit rose only to a higher pitch of benevolent compassion."

As his proceedings in this case gained for Mr. Hale the unenviable reputation of being a disturber of the church, and an enemy of the ministry, it is due to his memory that he should be allowed to testify to his own motives and feelings in these respects. The following extract from a letter which he addressed to the writer, when agitating the question of accepting the call of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, shows that he was aware of the prejudices existing against him on account of the transactions referred to, and that he was ready to justify his conduct as resistance to ecclesiastical domination.

"I would not advise any man to attempt to live with me (as my pastor) upon the plan of refusing me liberty to speak in the meetings of the church, or any other brother, nor upon the plan of crushing any brother for his own gratification, nor upon the plan that whatever he proposes must be law, whether it be wise or unwise. But I think you have no such propensities; and if you come to be my pastor, you may defeat my plans and get me voted down as often as you please, by fair discussion, and you shall never lose my affectionate regard on that account. But my impression is, that we should think alike, from the beginning of the year to its end; and, certainly, your own proper province I shall always be glad to have you manage to suit yourself, without any care of mine. My wish is, that our glorious Master may be honored, and his gospel proclaimed by every tongue, to the ends of the earth; and I never mean to act from any motive of selfish or personal feeling."

The effect of this discussion on the mind of Mr. Hale was to increase his jealousy of official prerogatives in a church, and his love for the free ecclesiastical institutions of New England. He began to study more attentively the Word of God, with reference to the rudimental principles of church

polity therein contained. Thus the providence of God was preparing him to be, as it were, the parent of a new movement in the religious affairs of New York, and in the midst of ecclesiastical systems so long established here as to claim a sort of prescriptive right to the soil, to introduce successfully that simple and efficient system of church polity which has existed in New England from its first settlement, which is believed to have been substantially the system of the primitive churches, and which best secures Christian liberty and best develops Christian character. For such a movement there was needed a leader who could confront jealousy and bear the opposition even of brethren,—who should be able to defend the cause which he espoused,—one who could go forward, if need be, alone, and in face of a virtual excommunication from Christian fellowship, to do what he felt to be important for the interests of truth and of Christ's kingdom.

The occasion for this new movement arose in the following manner. The pecuniary affairs of the Tabernacle Church had become greatly embarrassed. Several of the original friends of the enterprise, including the two principal subscribers to the building, had withdrawn from it, and those who remained were generally persons of little property, or were suffering from the commercial revulsion of 1837. Many too had become disaffected during the controversy, and had removed to other churches. It was impossible any longer to defray the current expenses of the church, or even to meet the interest on the debt. Accordingly a mortgage, held by Mr. W. Green, was prosecuted to foreclosure, and the Tabernacle was advertised to be sold at auction. The elders and trustees made strenuous efforts to avert this crisis. At their solicitation, a highly respectable committee from other Presbyterian churches was appointed to devise a plan by which the Tabernacle might be saved for the uses of a Christian church, and of the benevolent societies.

Meanwhile Mr. Hale had resolved in the last resort, to buy the Tabernacle himself. He announced this intention to the trustees, requesting to be notified whenever their own plans were finally abandoned. The committee from other churches, believing it impossible to extricate the Tabernacle Church from its embarrassments, approved Mr. Hale's plan, and recommended him to make the purchase. He bid off the Tabernacle at a chancery sale, July 2d, 1840, for $34,363 74. The whole affair is thus recounted in a letter to his son:

"I look upon the purchase of the Tabernacle as an era in religious policy in all the country south of New England. We shall go for pure Congregationalism in all its simplicity. The story of the matter was on this wise. The Tabernacle was advertised for sale under a decree of the Chancellor on the 2d of July. Nine days before the time the rulers called the people together, and disclosed to them the desperate state of their affairs. Mr. Parker had just before announced his resignation. At this meeting it was proposed to call Dr. Beecher, and the elders thought if the church would raise a large subscription, and call Dr. Beecher, they could get help for the money. I said that I did not think much of such expedients as calling Dr. Beecher, much as I should approve of him as pastor, that time was precious, and I thought I could tell how the house could be saved. I thought Congregationalism could save it. They went on with calling Dr. Beecher, &c., and called meetings of Presbytery, until three days before the sale, when a committee of Presbyterian elders called on me to know my plan. I disclosed my pecuniary means and plan of operations. The result was that they reported that it was inexpedient to attempt to extricate the old concern, but that I had better buy the house. I saw Mr. Green, the mortgagee on whose claim the house was to be sold, on the next day after the committee called on me, made the arrangements I wished, and the next day after that bought the house at auction. I paid about $20,000 by my own notes, and $9,500 in cash. The cash was most of it loaned by Presbyterians for five years. The old church were astounded at the movement, and although compelled to praise what I had done in the highest terms, they were still so angry that they have left no stone unturned to do the new enterprise mischief. We have however been wonderfully prospered. Elder P. stands with us boldly, and is happy as a prince in the new attitude of affairs. We are

strong, however, with first-rate men for all posts, a capital choir, led by Mr. Andrews, of the Academy of Music, and above all, strong in the Lord, I trust. The course of the brethren is right. They start with prayer, and go on with firm and humble steps. Our pulpit has been well supplied for a month now since we separated.

"The events of Providence have wonderfully favored us. I did not dream of bringing in Congregationalism with the help of Presbyterians, but so it is, and it is most wonderful. It fills me with joy and gratitude to see what God has wrought. May the movement be greatly to His praise. Our church is not yet formed, but will be probably in a few days. I sent you in a bundle of papers, yesterday, a report of the committee on Covenant, Rules, &c. We are all wide awake, and extremely happy."

On the evening of the day of the purchase, at a very full meeting of the Tabernacle Church (which then consisted of five or six hundred members), Mr. Hale informed them that he had bought the house for their benefit and that of the Christian public, and invited as many of the members as might be so disposed to unite with him in forming in the Tabernacle a Congregational church after the pattern of the primitive churches and the churches of New England. The officers of the church were unfavorable to this movement, and the result was that the members dispersed in various directions, and the church became extinct.

Rev. Mr. Parker preached in the Tabernacle on the following Sabbath, and on Monday evening, July 6th, the last meeting was held in the lecture-room of the building. Notwithstanding the recommendation of the officers of the church, that the members should unite with other Presbyterian churches, and the public declaration that "not ten respectable families in New York would attend a Congregational church," at the close of the meeting some thirty or forty brethren remained to take measures for organizing such a church; and having conversed together upon the importance of the step they proposed to take, they kneeled down and prayed, commending themselves and the church

about to be formed, to the guidance and care of God. A committee was then appointed to take measures for the formation of a Congregational church. The movement was entered into with much spirit; several brethren from other churches joined in it, and after having agreed upon some permanent principles of government, articles of faith, a covenant and a form of admission, the persons whose evidences of piety had been made mutually satisfactory upon examination, entered into covenant with each other, and with God, and constituted themselves a church of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the name of "*Broadway Tabernacle Church.*" The articles of faith, form of admission and covenant were substantially those of Park-street Church, Boston.

To meet the obligations which he had assumed in the purchase of the Tabernacle, Mr. Hale was obliged to borrow immediately between nine and ten thousand dollars. His private resources at that time were limited, and the receipts of the *Journal of Commerce* were absorbed in the payment of its debts. "Money was worth two per cent. a month, and property and credit were at the lowest ebb." It was in such circumstances that Mr. Hale bought the Tabernacle, not as a matter of speculation—although he might have made several thousand dollars out of the transaction—but for the public good. He shouldered a burden which Christians of ample fortune would not touch with their little finger. The foresight with which he planned this purchase, the energy with which he put his plans in execution, the zeal and patience and self-denial with which he labored through evil report to secure an important public benefit, evinced a great and noble mind. He risked all his resources and all his credit upon this one enterprise, for the sake not of gain but of good. He made the venture in faith, and God prospered him. When he bought the Tabernacle he had but little unencumbered property. It was necessary for him to negotiate a loan

of $9,533 82, which according to the terms of sale was to be paid in cash, the balance being payable by his own notes or bond to be liquidated by quarter-yearly payments of $1,250, with interest on the principal sum. In this he was assisted by several gentlemen of high commercial standing and Christian character, among whom were Messrs. Erastus C. Benedict, James Boerman, James Brown, Benjamin F. Butler, William W. Chester, William B. Crosby, Henry Grinnell, Robert T. Haines, Jacob Little, Sidney E. Morse, Christopher R. Robert, and A. R. Wetmore. The following recommendation was given by three of the gentlemen above-named, who were appointed by a meeting called for the purpose, to "confer with Mr. Hale in regard to raising the money wanted." After stating the terms of the loan, they say,

"The undersigned, believing it to be very important that the Tabernacle should be placed in such a position that it may be used when wanted by the various benevolent societies of the day, and for other moral and religious purposes, deem it but just and reasonable, that Mr. Hale should be aided in this laudable object by the Christian public, and trust he will receive aid, to the extent asked.

"WM. W. CHESTER,
"R. T. HAINES,
"C. R. ROBERT."

These gentlemen did not agree with Mr. Hale in his views of Congregationalism, but they appreciated his motives in purchasing the Tabernacle, and had confidence in his integrity. With this aid Mr. Hale felt sure that he could make the building pay for itself by public uses.

The church which had been formed on the 6th of July was formally constituted and publicly recognized by an ecclesiastical council on the 3d of September following. There were present at that council Rev. Drs. Skinner, Bacon, Patton, and Todd, and Rev. Messrs. J. Harrison, J. Marsh, G. R. Haswell and P. Lockwood, with delegates

from several churches. The occasion possessed therefore all the dignity that could be desired.

In January, 1841, Rev. E. W. ANDREWS, of West Hartfort, Conn., was installed pastor of the church by a numerous and highly respectable council. He entered upon his ministry with very encouraging prospects.

Mr. Hale was exceedingly happy in the success of the enterprise. In a letter to his esteemed friend, Rev. Levi Nelson, he thus pours out the fullness of his heart:

"Mr. Andrews was installed on the last Sabbath evening of January. The exercises were excellent, the house full. Even Presbyterians present were filled with admiration. Prime Yankees are now joining us from all the churches round about. About thirty are now propounded. Everything has been ordered admirably in Providence. Never did God prosper anything more. I bless His name, and am happy, and have been from the day I bought the house. Our pastor, we think, is just the man —of the Connecticut old school—and now if God will add the blessing of His Spirit, sinners will be converted."

It was Mr. Hale's first aim, in the new Tabernacle Church, to profit by experience, and to guard against those sources of difficulty which had existed in the former organization. This was effected in a great measure by the simple change of organization; for a church in which every brother is admitted to a full participation in all its affairs, and where matters are determined by a majority of votes, is much more likely to possess unity and peace, combined with strength and Christian activity, than a church whose affairs are managed by a few individuals. But in addition to this it was felt to be important to lay down at the outset certain principles or rules of action, which could always be appealed to for the settlement of disputed questions. One point on which Mr. Hale particularly insisted was that the church, as an organized body, should be kept distinct from all other associations, and should not be made the agent of specific measures of reform. Accordingly he secured the adoption of the following de-

claration as the fundamental principle of the church, viz.: "*The design of a Christian church we understand to be the enjoyment of Christian ordinances, and the maintenance of the worship of God.*"

This declaration was afterwards amended so as to include the definition of a church, in these words: "A CHRISTIAN CHURCH we understand properly to be, and we accordingly declare this church to be, an association of professed believers in Christ for mutual watchfulness, for the enjoyment of Christian ordinances, and the maintenance of the worship of God."

Such a declaration was of great importance at a time when there was a strong tendency to transform churches into societies for particular reforms, and even for political action. The working of this principle in the Broadway Tabernacle Church has been most happy. Though some of the prominent members of the church are zealous for particular measures of reform, the church itself has never been agitated by these subjects, for since every brother is left at liberty to advocate any reform, and to join or to organize any reform society, all are satisfied with this unrestricted personal influence without demanding church action in their favorite cause. Prayer and remarks, with reference to such subjects, are unrestrained; personal action is free; but legislation in the church upon subjects so foreign to the design of a church is not desired by any. Each member of the church is responsible to his brethren for his general walk and conversation, but may appropriate his efforts to any department of benevolent labor to which, in *his own* judgment, he is called by the Master, to whom he is directly responsible for the use of all the talents which have been committed to his hands. At the same time any member of the church, in voting upon the reception of a candidate into church fellowship, may make the opinions and practice of the person with regard to the use and sale of intoxicating drinks, slavehold-

ing, dancing, and any other act of questionable morality, a test of piety, and the whole church may have a common moral sentiment upon such subjects which shall express itself as occasions arise, while they avoid the dangerous expedient of legislating on specific moral questions in the abstract.

These fundamental principles of church organization stand in the Broadway Tabernacle Church as a monument of the wisdom and foresight of David Hale, who derived them not from books nor from men, but from the study of the rudiments of church polity contained in the New Testament.

In accordance with these principles, the church, at an early period of its history, adopted the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas the design of a Christian church, as stated in the first declaration of this church, is the enjoyment of Christian ordinances and the maintenance of the worship of God; and whereas a Congregational church possesses no power to compel a member to engage in any particular department of Christian labor; and whereas there are now societies to which Christians may unite themselves for the furtherance of all works of Christian benevolence, if they believe that their usefulness will be thereby promoted; and whereas we have, in this church, members who are connected with almost all the great religious charitable societies, who may see to the interests of those societies; and whereas, there is great diversity of opinion among us in reference to the various charitable movements of the day, but great harmony in regard to the peculiar and special designs of the church, which harmony may be interrupted, as it has been in other churches, by any effort to coöperate in our *organized capacity* with other societies:—Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we deem it expedient in our action, *as a church*, to confine ourselves to that design set forth in the following declaration, viz.: 'The design of a Christian church we understand to be the enjoyment of Christian ordinances, and the maintenance of the worship of God.'"

At the same time every facility was provided for the presentation of benevolent objects from the pulpit and for collections in their behalf.

The Tabernacle Church continued to prosper. In 1841,

114 members were added to it, thirteen of whom united on profession of their faith,—among them two daughters of Mr. Hale. In 1842, there were 130 additions, sixty on profession; in 1843, 88, of whom thirty-four united on profession; and the church now numbers about 450 members, and has had connected with it in all more than 700. In this prosperity Mr. Hale exceedingly rejoiced. He often spoke of it both in private and in public, and alluded to it with thanksgiving in his prayers. Before he was called away, he was permitted to see his cherished Tabernacle Church established on a firm basis, both in numbers and in pecuniary strength, and growing in self-sustaining power, liberality, and usefulness,—to enjoy in connection with it several revivals of religion, and very many delightful seasons of prayer and praise,—and to see his entire household gathered into its bosom.

Mr. Hale's connection with the Tabernacle was widely misunderstood and misrepresented. What he did for the glory of God and the promotion of Christian truth, liberty, activity, and love, was imputed to the most narrow and selfish motives. Having bought the house entirely on his own responsibility, at a time when his pecuniary resources were limited, and having given on account of the purchase his own notes to a large amount, he was obliged to open the house more freely to public uses in order that the income from these lettings might pay the interest on loans and mortgages, ground-rent, and other current expenses, in all exceeding four thousand dollars. In so doing Mr. Hale sometimes allowed the Tabernacle to be used for purposes which were disapproved by the church and the Christian community, and as neither the extent of his obligations, nor his agreement to surrender the property to the church at cost, were generally known, the impression went abroad that he rented the building for the sake of gain, and was deriving a handsome income from worldly amusements.

This greatly scandalized some good people, and furnished his political and personal enemies with an inexhaustible fund of satire and abuse. All this he bore good-naturedly, knowing that in due time the whole matter would be understood. He had some peculiar notions as to the purposes for which such a building as the Tabernacle should be used, but he was ever ready to regard the wishes of his brethren in the church, even when he had entire control of the building. For several years he had the sole management of the building, renting it as he had opportunity for public purposes, and transacting all the business pertaining thereto,—for none of which services did he ever receive a single cent for his own benefit. As soon as the new church was organized, Mr. Hale leased the Tabernacle to the ecclesiastical society or congregation for ten years at an annual rent of one thousand dollars. By the terms of this lease the congregation were to have the exclusive use of the audience-chamber on the Sabbath, and of the lecture-room and other apartments during the week, and to receive all the revenue from pew-rents and collections, defraying their own expenses,—Mr. Hale reserving the right to let the building for miscellaneous purposes during the week, and engaging to meet all the expenses of the property. It was further stipulated, that at any time within the ten years, the Broadway Tabernacle Society might purchase the property at cost, interest included, and that the net income of the building in the interim should constitute a sinking fund for such purchase. Thus Mr. Hale voluntarily put it out of his power ever to realize one dollar from what might have proved a most lucrative investment. He bought the Tabernacle at his own risk, intending that the property by its earnings should as it were redeem itself for the perpetual use and benefit of a Congregational church. An act so disinterested is hardly credited by a selfish world. Some sinister motive is ever suspected by

those who know not what it is to forego self-interest for the glory of God.

The result of this arrangement was that when in March, 1845, the Society purchased the Tabernacle, its cost to them was reduced by the net earnings of five years to about $30,000. Of this sum about $12,000 was raised by the sale of pews, which was paid to Mr. Hale, and a mortgage on the property was given for the balance. The income from the rents and extra uses of the house has not only paid the interest on the debt, but has reduced the principal by one-third, and in a few years will extinguish it entirely, without any pressure on the congregation. To accomplish this object the miscellaneous uses of the house are still necessary. If those who complain of such uses would offer to pay off the debt by subscription or by purchasing pews, and would assist in raising the *eight or nine thousand dollars* per annum, which are required to meet the current expenses of the Tabernacle enterprise, the trustees and congregation would cheerfully listen to their proposals. Meanwhile they will do the best they can to keep this vast edifice in the possession of an evangelical church, and for the great interests of benevolence, humanity, literary culture, and social refinement. When the Broadway Tabernacle, freed from all encumbrances, shall have become a center of moral and religious influences for New York and for the Union, speaking ever with one voice, and making one grand moral impression,—when the few remaining churches in the lower part of the city one by one shall have been removed, and this vast edifice shall stand with open gates inviting the stranger, the poor, the young men of the city, the giddy, pleasure-seeking throngs on the great thoroughfare to enter, and hear the word of life, while it shall continue also from year to year to gather beneath its dome the thousands of Israel to hear and consult of the public interests of the Redeemer's kingdom,—then perhaps those who have never lift-

ed a finger to sustain the enterprise, but have carped at the occasional uses of the house, which were dictated by necessity, shall begin to comprehend the sagacity and the magnanimity of one, who for no personal emolument or advantage, but at much personal inconvenience and sacrifice, at the risk of property, and in face of opposition and obloquy, saved the Tabernacle from becoming a grand center of evil where superstition and error should be enshrined, or the goddess of pleasure and lust should hold her court;—then tardy justice will be rendered to David Hale for the crowning act of his life.

In the interval covered by these public events, important changes had taken place in the family of Mr. Hale. The children of the first Mrs. Hale had grown to maturity, and some of them were married, while an equal number had been added to the household—one of whom died in infancy. Mr. Hale's intercourse with his children was characterized by an affectionate interest in all their affairs, and a deep concern for their spiritual welfare. His constant aim was to lead them to form those traits of character which were so conspicuous in himself—sincerity, independence, and benevolence. In his letters to them, even the youngest, when away from home at school, there was always a wise adaptation of his counsels to their understanding, habits, and disposition, and some happy turning of the thoughts to religion as the chief thing. A few extracts from these letters will be found in the Appendix.* They are good models of correspondence for Christian parents.

In the year 1844, he was called to part with his second daughter, Mrs. Lydia Devan, for the missionary work in China. Both in person and in character, this daughter strikingly resembled the sainted mother whose name she bore. She was greatly endeared to all who knew her. From child-

* See Appendix D.

hood she had cherished a desire to be a missionary, and after she was married and pleasantly settled in New York, she still clung to the same desire. At length, on the opening of China to missionary effort, her husband, then in good practice as a physician, but sharing in her wish to proclaim the Gospel to the heathen, received from the Baptist Board of Missions—with which denomination he was connected—an appointment to that interesting field. Nothing could have been more grateful to the feelings of Mrs. Devan. Her fondest aspirations were now to be fulfilled; yet, ready as she was to go, and free to act her own pleasure, she sought the counsel of her father. The manner in which Mr. Hale regarded the subject is thus described by a friend:

"He viewed the event, not as a matter of personal feeling, but as he viewed almost every thing,—in its bearing upon the kingdom of Christ, and the well-being of mankind. He had long known Lydia's attachment to the cause of missions, and her ardent desire to devote her life to that cause. When she was not far from sixteen years of age, she conceived a strong wish to join a company of missionaries who were going to Greece, and there to become a teacher. Being at that time at school, away from home, she wrote to her father, requesting permission to go. But he could not consent to it, on account of her extreme youth and inexperience, and the want of such protection as so young a female would need.

"These objections, however, no longer existed, when it was proposed that she should go to China. It was evident that her missionary spirit had not abated, for while the way was not open for her to enter on a foreign mission, she was an active missionary at home. Her knowledge and experience were much increased, and her judgment mature. And besides all this, she had enjoyed six years experience of the faithful devotion of a husband whom she loved most ardently, and who ever studied to promote her happiness.

"When the proposition to go to China was made to Dr. and Mrs. Devan, the first step they took was to confer with her father on the subject. The interview was long, and deeply interesting. Having discussed fully and freely everything relating to it, Mr. Hale expressed his entire willingness to have them go, and to render them all the aid in his power in carrying out their plans. This he did by giving them one thousand dollars, all that he then felt able to give, and rendering aid in various smaller matters.

"He loved this daughter with very warm affection, and always took peculiar pleasure in having her near him; yet he was willing, he even rejoiced, to resign her at the call of the Savior, to serve Him in a heathen land. He felt that God had honored him by thus distinguishing his child, and that it would be sinful in him to mourn at her departure."

Hardly two years elapsed before this lovely and devoted woman—the first missionary who gained access to the women of China—was called to lay down her life in the cause she so much loved. Having just acquired the language, and an influence over the Chinese of her own sex which promised much good, she was summoned away by death on the 18th of October, 1846. She sleeps at Whampoa in the vicinity of Canton.* Mr. Hale received the unexpected intelligence of her decease with great calmness, and reiterated the sentiments he had expressed on bidding her adieu. The news reached New York on the day of the weekly prayer-meeting of the Tabernacle Church. At that meeting Mr. Hale was in his place—the object of regard and sympathy to all present. No formal mention of his bereavement was needed; the intelligence had gone from mouth to mouth, and with it grief had spread from heart to heart. After the opening exercises, that exquisite hymn by Dr. L. Bacon—

"Hail tranquil hour of closing day!"—

* See Appendix E.

a hymn penned while watching the slow decline of the partner of his life—having been sung, was commented on by the pastor as appropriate to the occasion. The following stanza was particularly dwelt upon:

"How sweet to look, in thoughtful hope,
Beyond this fading sky,
And hear Him call his children up
To His fair home on high."

It was remarked that God knows where all His children are, and is calling them home, now from one land, now from another, till all shall be gathered in His presence and glory.

Scarcely were these remarks finished when Mr. Hale rose and said, "I suppose you hardly expect me to speak to-night, and yet I know not why I should not speak to-night if ever. I cannot mourn for my daughter (and here his utterance choked)—I bless God that He gave me such a daughter, and that He inclined her to go and serve Him among the heathen; and now that He has taken her to Himself, shall I mourn? How different are my feelings from those of a parent whose son has fallen on a Mexican battle-field! I might have reason to mourn if a child of mine had died in such a war as that in which we are engaged against a weak, half-civilized, sister nation. But now I have no tears to shed. Much as I love my children, I cannot expect always to have them around me—to dandle them always upon my knee; nor do I desire to; I have something else to do, and I trust they have also. I have consecrated them to God, and have endeavored to train them for usefulness, and now if Christ honors one of them with a call to serve Him anywhere in His kingdom, shall I object and complain? No; I will rejoice at it. We ought not to talk of such things as a sacrifice, and make an ado about parting with our children for Christ. I say to these young converts (it was a season of revival) if any of you shall go to serve Him among

the heathen, I'll help you with my prayers, I'll help you with my money, but *I won't shed a tear;* I'll rejoice over it."

What a noble exhibition of Christian firmness under affliction, of supreme love to Christ and His glorious cause!

The following letter addressed soon after to myself when called to Philadelphia by the sudden death of a sister, shows how deep was Mr. Hale's sensibility under affliction, and how fully he realized the comforts of the Gospel:

New York, Feb. 6, 1847.

My Dear Pastor—

In thinking of you last night, I determined to write you a letter to-day, thinking that I would try to repay you in part for the sympathy which you so kindly exhibited for me. I am glad to receive your letter of yesterday, and by it to know more perfectly the measure of your grief. It is dangerous, in a world like this, to have precious things given to us—it is so very hard to part with them. Some kind parents take care to keep from their children the things on which their love will fasten, it will be so difficult to take them away. Others give them and take them away for the purpose of discipline. I have never been surrounded by so many objects to love as you have. I have no lovely sister to die, though I have had so many objects of my love, that I have shed many bitter tears over their loss. But you, I fear, have still more to shed, and I trust much higher grace to reach than I can expect.

This world looks strangely to me. Such high hope, such rich enjoyments, snatched away from us as if to mock our agony, and yet all in love. What sad waywardness it is which requires such discipline to correct it! But I know that all the thoughts that I could suggest are present with you, and I trust we shall both hold fast to the steadfast throne of God, for there is nothing else which will not tear itself from our grasp as the storms of life beat over us. It is our unspeakable comfort to believe that our dear ones have gone to better friends, and that they are not lost even to us.

May the Good Spirit comfort your heart by His presence, and may we all learn the lessons of love to God and dependence joyfully on Him, which will prepare us to serve Him more, and each other more, and so be ready for the perfect love of a perfect state,—where we shall be satisfied.

Yours, affectionately,

D. HALE.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Hale did not continue his private journal beyond the first few years of his Christian experience, and that after the death of his father, his correspondence, with the exception of occasional letters, was limited to matters of business. We are thus deprived of two important sources of evidence as to his religious character in later life. But while we lack such a record of his feelings as would be furnished by the self-communings and reflections of a diary, or by the free and familiar expressions of a friendly and confidential correspondence, we have the evidence of his character in the acts of a life which was uncommonly open to inspection. It was felt by those who knew him best, that in the last few years of his life his Christian character rapidly matured and developed itself with symmetry and completeness.

The cheerful tone of his piety at this period, which was remarked by all who knew him as a Christian, was owing in no small measure to the success which had crowned the Tabernacle enterprise. The enjoyment which he found in his new church relations was greatly hightened by contrast with the scenes of controversy through which he had passed. He felt too that in the organization of the Tabernacle Congregational Church, he had secured the recognition and the preservation of important principles, and had contributed to the progress of the Redeemer's Kingdom. His frequent allusions to this were imputed by some to a spirit of boasting—but they were prompted rather by joy and gratitude for the success of an undertaking to which he had consecrated time, thought, feeling, character, and money, for the glory of God. And well might he rejoice when he saw not only the Tabernacle Church prosperous, but other Congregational churches springing up vigorously in New York and Brooklyn, as a consequence of his original movement.*

Mr. Hale was devoted to the Tabernacle Church in all its

* See appendix F.

interests. Feeling the need of rest on the Sabbath after the exhausting labors of his profession during the week, he did not indeed engage in Sabbath-school instruction as he had done in former years; but he was a member of the choir, till within about two years of his death, and was regularly present at the weekly rehearsal. He uniformly attended public service three times on the Sabbath, and *I do not remember ever to have missed him from a stated religious meeting during the week, when he was in the city and in health.* He would come to those meetings from his office, without his evening meal, rejoicing in such a relief from temporal cares. In seasons of special interest, he would attend a religious meeting almost every evening for weeks in succession.

He loved religion, he loved the cause of Christ, he loved the people of God, he loved prayer, and the faithful, earnest preaching of the Word. Nothing would move him to tears so quickly as the narrative of the conversion of souls to Christ; nothing would light up his rugged countenance with such joy as did the intelligence of the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom in any part of the world. He was in his element at the monthly concert of prayer. His comprehensive review of the news of the month in its bearing on the advancement of Christ's kingdom was always instructive; he rejoiced in every indication of progress, and said, with reference to the great physical improvements and benevolent enterprises of his day, that the world had been made since he was born. On such topics, his love of liberty, and his enlarged charity and benevolence, came prominently into view; and his soul was often fired as from God's own altar, as he dilated on the coming glories of the Redeemer's reign. How withering at such times was his sarcasm upon those who were busying themselves with their own mean affairs,—living for gold or honor! He felt that there was no greatness but in connection with God's service.

This idea he often dwelt upon in his exhortations. On one occasion, at a prayer-meeting, allusion had been made to a female member of the church, then dangerously ill, who, when asked whether she had a consciousness of supreme love to Christ, replied, "I do not think I should have been willing to go so far in all weather to teach my class in the colored Sabbath-school, if I did not love Him:" Mr. Hale arose and said, "Ah, that is it. We see what will give us comfort in death. It is not that we have been great, or rich, or honored; it is not the great things that we have done; it is teaching poor, colored children; it is visiting the poor; it is laboring in the Sabbath-school; it is doing something, however humble, for Christ. This will give us comfort when we die." Thus did he encourage the poorer and feebler members of the church. Indeed he himself delighted in such services more than in his public labors and benefactions for the cause of Christ. And doubtless from such services will flow results which will be immeasurably joyful to him in eternity. It was but the other day that an anecdote illustrating Mr. Hale's usefulness as a Sabbath-school teacher, was brought casually to my notice in a newspaper published by the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

"A minister of this city, in preaching for the benefit of a Sunday-school, a few Sabbaths since, related the following story:

"A lad, in Boston, was in the class of a Sunday-school teacher, (the late David Hale,) who for a long time occupied a large space in the public eye. When the lad meditated a departure from the school, to accompany his parents to Europe, his teacher got him to learn eight verses of the sacred Scripture, in which were the words, '*I will behave myself wisely in a perfect way.*' Before he quit the shores of his native land, his faithful teacher presented him with a copy of the New Testament, writing on one of its

blank leaves those same words. After an absence of several years, that Sunday-school boy set sail for home again. During the voyage they met with a calamity; an officer was lost overboard. While attempts were making to recover the man, which it was plainly seen must prove fruitless, another officer stepped into the cabin, and whispered in that boy's ear, 'Look in the man's state-room, and see if he left his watch hanging there; if he did, take it, and put it on yourself; no one will know it: it will be thought he had it on when he was lost!' The boy stepped to the door, and saw the watch hanging where it had been left. 'Now, then,' said the lad, in his heart, 'shall I, just returning to my native land, with a fair character, and to commence life for myself, begin with theft?' His soul revolted at the thought, and then, with the vividness of inspiration, rose up those words within him, 'I will behave myself wisely in a perfect way!' That boy became a minister—that minister now addresses you."

I know not whether Mr. Hale was ever informed of the good effect of his counsels in this case. Many others are under a like obligation to him for his kind and faithful instructions; and while he rests from his labors his works do follow him. Much good is yet to flow both from his labors and his charities. Of the extent of the latter the world knew nothing. He often gave money largely, and when, as in the purchase of the Tabernacle, he had a great end to accomplish, he never scrupled at the cost. But the beauty of his benevolence was that it was habitual, cheerful, systematic, comprehensive, and from principle. His native disposition was generous, but that trait was refined and amplified under the influence of an evangelical faith. Many pleasing instances of his liberality might here be mentioned; but the record of all his good deeds would fill the volume.

Soon after his conversion, at a time when his means were very scanty, being on a visit to his cousin, at Lisbon, Conn.,

he called upon a worthy couple in the town, whose means of support had been diminished through age and infirmities. Seeing their condition, he left a sum of money with his cousin for their relief, charging her to conceal the name of the donor, and afterwards sent other sums for the same purpose. In after years, when he began to be prospered, this relative herself often received from him tokens of kindness, both in remittances of money, and in such articles for family use as are always acceptable in the family of a country minister. And he would bestow such favors with a delicacy and a cordiality which greatly enhanced their value. He kindly anticipated the wants of others, and tendered such aid as was in his power. Thus he advises his cousin, when in feeble health, to go to the Springs and remain as long as she may see fit, at his expense, and offers to provide her with a nurse or a traveling companion; and again he suggests that she should come and place herself under the care of an eminent physician in New York, remarking that he "should be most happy to defray the expenses of the journey for her husband and herself, and also of the doctor."

A young woman who supported herself by giving lessons in drawing, being ill, and threatened with loss of sight, Mr. Hale provided for her the best medical attendance at an expense of two or three hundred dollars. The person thus befriended had no claim upon him but that arising from her character and her necessities, and the act originated simply in the kindness of his heart.

He used, either in person or through some member of his family, to seek out the poor of the church, or such others as were both needy and deserving, and minister to their relief. This was to him a constant source of pleasure. He never refused a call of charity which was fairly presented to his mind as deserving of regard. One mode of doing good with him, was that of accommodating persons of limited means, in whom he could put confidence, with loans of money, either

without interest or on very easy terms. Many a poor minister had occasion to thank Mr. Hale for such a favor, bestowed perhaps without solicitation, and as a delicate way of making a present of money to one who would not ask it, for he frequently canceled such debts in whole or in part. In the same spirit he would grant to members of the Tabernacle Church accommodation in business which they could obtain nowhere else.

His charities, while they were abundant and diversified, were also systematic and judicious. What he gave to benevolent objects was a part of his daily expenses. Such objects were not postponed till everything else was provided for, and every other possible use had been made of money. They belonged to his regular expenditures. He gave away the greater part of his available earnings, and often anticipated them, for the promotion of benevolent objects. When possessed of ample means he did not live in luxury. He indulged in no display in dress, in equipage, or in his manner of living. His conduct in this respect was most exemplary. He would not keep a carriage, or live ostentatiously, because he did not wish to appear to place himself above his brethren in the church. His dwelling was furnished with as much plainness as was consistent with good taste and propriety. There was nothing in it for mere display. He once remarked to me, as I was admiring the style and situation of his house, that he sometimes questioned whether it was right for him to occupy a house worth twenty thousand dollars, when money was so much needed to spread abroad the Gospel. The first use of money with him was to do good, and he endeavored to do good with money just in proportion as from time to time the Lord had prospered him. He used to say that he should think it wrong to suffer property to accumulate in his hands to the amount of $100,000; and that he wanted money in order *to give it away*. He regarded himself as a mere steward of property for the Lord.

It was a frequent remark of his that he wished to do good with his money while he *lived;* and he condemned the policy of hoarding up wealth while life lasts, and then appropriating it to good uses only when death renders it impossible to keep it longer.

One of the most pleasing features of his charity was its cheerfulness. He never gave grudgingly, nor merely from a sense of duty, but because it was a pleasure to give. A Secretary of one of our benevolent societies, after having presented the object at the Tabernacle, called on him for his subscription. "Well," said Mr. Hale, "that was a good story and well told; *here's the money.*"

His example in this respect greatly stimulated others. One of our most liberal merchants has told me that he owes his disposition to do good with his money very much to the example of David Hale. That example should be followed not only by those who are already prosperous in business, but also by *young men* who are marking out their course for life.

From the beginning of his Christian life, Mr. Hale was distinguished for liberality. In Boston, when his means were limited, he gave hundreds of dollars to benevolent objects, and when afterwards in this city his income increased, his contributions increased, as they should, in a higher ratio, until he gave away thousands annually, and in the aggregate tens of thousands, to promote various objects of Christian benevolence.

His influence on the Tabernacle Church in this respect was peculiarly happy. When I wished to introduce an object of benevolence to the church in a familiar way, I would always send the applicant to Mr. Hale; then at a prayer-meeting or lecture, would state the nature of the application; whereupon Mr. Hale would rise and say, "I have looked at this matter, and I think we ought to help to build this church, or support this missionary, (or whatever the ob-

ject might be,) and I have made up my mind to give twenty dollars, or fifty, or a hundred, (according to the object,) or if you will give so much I will make up the balance, or double your subscriptions. The way to prosper is, to keep giving; and it costs us very little to do a great deal of good." The effect of such a speech was always to secure a good collection.

Of late years Mr. Hale's contributions were turned very much into the channel of Congregational enterprises. This was not owing to mere sectarian feeling. As we have seen, Congregationalism was with him a matter of principle. He did not value it as an *ism*, but as an embodiment of the free Spirit of the Gospel, as the best system of church organization for all the practical ends of such organization. Therefore he contributed his money most freely where the principles of the Puritans would be honored. But besides this, he was of opinion that Christians who had the means of doing good on a large scale should have specific objects under their care, as for instance that one should sustain a college, another a church, a third a missionary, &c., and so he looked after interests which others were apt to overlook. I cannot ascertain how much he contributed towards Congregational objects. He gave thousands of dollars to individual churches in this city and in Brooklyn, and sometimes assumed very heavy responsibilities for a new church enterprise.* He gave large sums of money to feeble churches or new organi zations in Western New York, and in regions farther west. He usually supported from his own purse one or more missionaries at the West; at one time *three*, at an average salary of $500. The establishment of a Congregational church in Detroit would not have been attempted but for him. When the brethren who contemplated forming that church felt that they were too few and feeble for such an undertaking, Mr.

* See Appendix F.

Hale pledged himself to pay the salary of the pastor ($600 per annum) for two years, while at the same time he supported a missionary evangelist among the feeble churches of Michigan. Says the late pastor of the church in Detroit, "*Two thousand* dollars came from him to me and through my hands to sustain the cause in Michigan."

But I must pass to other points of his character as they presented themselves in the closing years of his life in which I knew him personally.

The impression was quite common that Mr. Hale was apt to make trouble in a church and especially for his minister. I did not find it so. As much as any man I ever knew, David Hale was deserving of the uniform confidence, affection and respect of his pastor, and his brethren of the church. To me he was always respectful, kind, generous, considerate of my feelings, influence, and happiness. Sometimes I deemed it my duty to oppose in church-meeting a measure to which he was strongly committed; but though his views were defeated, I never detected the least change in his deportment towards myself. The secret of which was simply that his rights as a private member of the church were respected, and he was met by fair and kindly argument instead of being put down by gag-law.

He had certain traits of character which made him an undesirable opponent to one who was in the wrong, or who was disposed to carry his point by subtlety, or by harsh and illiberal measures. Yet those very traits rendered him a most efficient champion for truth and right. It might even be said in a sense that *duty* was his God. He earnestly sought the truth and endeavored to do the right. They were the poles of his soul, not opposite as antagonistic, but as mutually supporting and balancing his whole moral nature. I have sometimes pictured to myself DAVID HALE arraigned before the Inquisition, and called upon to confess that a

piece of paste was Christ; or before Laud's High Commission to engage a strict conformity to the offices and ritual of the Established Church! Did ever a Lollard or a Huguenot go to the stake; did ever a Puritan go to the pillory, the prison, or the scaffold, with a higher devotion to the truth than would he! *He* deny the truth; *he* swerve from the right through fear of torture, through fear of death! He had courage to do his duty in all circumstances, courage even to undertake an unwelcome service, and one which did not imperatively devolve upon him, for the sake of the truth. He had courage always to stand by his principles, and to face the consequences of his own acts. Even in the most trying circumstances, and when he knew that he was provoking a storm of opposition against himself, and was alienating his chief friends, he had the courage to do his duty. Yet his known integrity inspired confidence. His word could always be relied upon. He abhorred deception in any form and under any pretext whatever. He was thoroughly honest; honest not only in business relations, but in all his intercourse with his fellow-men. He never resorted to petty manœuvering to gain his end. But this very honesty was a cause of his unpopularity with some, for it made him quick to detect, and prompt to expose hypocrisy and fraud. He was the sworn enemy of imposture everywhere; in church and in state; in commerce, politics, medicine, science, literature and religion. Such honesty is not liked by all, but it is the very *stamen* of a sterling character.

Coupled with this integrity of heart, Mr. Hale had a perfect frankness of manner. His sincerity was apparent to all. He carried his soul in his face, his faults as well as his virtues, and as you caught the light and shade,—as this or that phase came over his soul—so might you read the man. There was no reserve about him. If he did not approve your sentiments or conduct he would tell you so; and

when he said he did approve them you could believe him. What he thought and felt he hesitated not to utter; nay, he could not but utter. His frankness was sometimes blunt, but it was commonly kind and often amiable. This quality made him some enemies, but it endeared him to his friends. It is one of the most desirable traits of character, and those who were long under his influence learned to value and to cultivate it.

With Mr. Hale these traits were not the mere result of education or of natural cultivation, but of religious principle. He was a *conscientious* man; he aimed to do right in the fear of God; and he who acts from such a motive must be an honest man. His quick, sometimes almost intuitive, perception of what was right, made him impatient of the errors and severe upon the follies of others. Sometimes he was hasty in judgment and rash in speech; but when brought to see that he had wronged another, he always had the honesty to confess it. To that fact I could probably summon witnesses as numerous as the real offenses.

He had great firmness and decision of character. These qualities he much admired in others. Oliver Cromwell, as he appears in his own letters and speeches, collected by Carlyle, was a great favorite with him. He admired the blunt honesty, the manly decision, the devotion to principle so conspicuous in the plain Huntingdon farmer, who became Lord Protector of the Commonwealth; and he seemed to feel as he gazed upon the rugged, earnest, honest face of the old Puritan general, that he had found a man after his own heart.

Mr. Hale's conclusions upon moral subjects seemed at times to be formed intuitively. Especially was this true where great principles were involved. There were certain principles of moral science, ecclesiastical polity, and political economy, which he had weighed and settled. Some of

these were original in the sense of having been thought out by and for himself; all of them had been made his own by being subjected to the rigid analysis of his own mind. His principles were fixed, and he usually made up his mind promptly and decidedly; and when his mind was made up in view of truth and duty, who or what could change him? Opposition could not turn him; neither obloquy nor entreaty could induce him to retract. And yet with all this decision and firmness, which, in the view of some, amounted even to obstinacy, there was one principle to which, as a Congregationalist, he faithfully adhered; and that was, *always to yield to the decision of the majority*. This he invariably did with good grace. He never attempted to form a party in the church, or to make others uncomfortable by constant irritation. I have seen him laugh heartily at being conquered in a fair debate. He could not be driven from his principles, but he would cease to drive them, when he found that the case was fairly decided against him. Hence he made no difficulty in the church. In the present Tabernacle Church, he had no occasion to contend for the right of speech, and he respected the rights of others. In debate he was always calm and cheerful. That perfect self-control which enabled him when assaulted in the Exchange to refrain from blows or anger, and when spit upon by an excited politician, on board a steamboat, calmly to wipe his face with his handkerchief, remarking only that it was "a dirty trick,"—that complete self-possession to which he had attained, made him at once a formidable and an agreeable opponent in an argument. He would not betray anger in debate even under strong provocation, but would endeavor to allay excitement in others; and even when he found that his own views were likely to prevail, if the minority was large, and the proposed measure likely to produce ill feeling, he would not press it to a decision, but would ask a postponement for the sake of friendly conference, or would endeavor to harmonize the par-

ties on some common basis. His influence on the church in this respect was eminently happy.

This dignified self-control gained for him an influence in those public bodies, ecclesiastical councils, conventions, &c., in which he sometimes took a part. In 1846 he was a member of the Congregational Convention at Michigan City, where he greatly distinguished himself by his spirit and addresses. A prominent member of that body thus speaks of the appearance of Mr. Hale in the convention, and the influence which he acquired over it:

"I doubt whether he ever in so short a time did more for the cause of truth, than while at Michigan City. But for him, that convention would, I think, have adjourned without taking that decided action against the 'Plan of Union,' which has so essentially benefited the denomination at the West, and which has since been indorsed at the East. The committee appointed to report on that subject recommended only a modification of the Plan, and exerted themselves to procure the adoption of their report. Mr. Hale took the lead in opposing the *modification*, and boldly maintained that the Plan should be *abrogated*. At first his views seemed *ultra* to many of us. We were not prepared to go so far. But his quick discernment and ready wit, his strong arguments and apposite illustrations, were too much for the committee, (of whom I was one and contended for a modification,) and the brethren were led almost unanimously into his views before we separated. He was added to the committee, and wrote the latter part of the report which was finally adopted unanimously. There were other subjects that came before the convention for discussion, whose introduction he strongly opposed, and because of that opposition, some of our good brethren formed a very erroneous opinion of him, and one of them, in his zeal, administered a personal rebuke to Mr. Hale, by name. He received it without anger, and replied in a kind though decided manner, which won the hearts of all. So rapidly did the influence of Mr. Hale increase toward the close of the convention, that one of the officers remarked to me, 'If the convention had continued two days longer, Mr. Hale would have had the whole control of it.' As we were returning from Michigan City, one of the brethren who had at first been prejudiced against Mr. Hale, because of his manner, speaking of him, said, 'He has a noble soul after all. I watched his countenance while Brother ——— was preaching, and observed that it was often bathed in tears.'"

Mr. Hale endeared himself greatly to the young men of the church. He took a lively interest in their welfare; was always ready to counsel and aid them in their temporal affairs, and endeavored to train them to habits of self-reliance, perseverance and Christian activity. The following skeleton of an address to the young men of the church, found among his papers, will show what in his view were the most important elements of character, and may convey useful hints to that class of readers:

Be eminent in holiness.
For this you must study the truth.
Must keep your mind at peace; in business; in politics; in the church.
Be *eminently* useful.
Fill your mind with elementary knowledge.
Be independent in opinions.
Be a leader; but not ambitious.
Select particular objects.
Be steadily laborious.
Be submissive.
You have enlisted for life.
Be consistent.

It was quite an object also with Mr. Hale to cultivate social feeling in the church. His New Year's calls were almost exclusively upon the members of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, not excepting the poorest. He preferred to keep up an acquaintance with his brethren and sisters in Christ, rather than with the great, the wealthy, the titled, to whose society he might have had access. He took great delight in having social assemblies of the church at his own house. On such occasions he made all happy by his cheerfulness and his generous hospitality. His appearance and manners made him pleasingly conspicuous in the social circle. In person, he was tall—more than six feet in hight, and well proportioned, though of rather a spare habit, and he stood or walked erect; his forehead was high and stamped with thought; his hair, which he wore brushed back from

the forehead, was thin and prematurely gray; his countenance was naturally stern, but easily relaxed into a smile; his voice deep and guttural, but easily softened by emotion. His conversation was sprightly, and his hearty laugh would often ring out at the pithy anecdote or the pointed satire. He possessed a rare amount of *bonhommie*, good-nature, which overflowed in company, and made everybody cheerful. He was a lover of hospitality, and a lover of good men; and when, as was sometimes the case, his guests consisted principally of clergymen and other professional gentlemen, he did the honors of the house and table with an ease and grace, and participated in their discussions with an interest and ability, which never failed to elicit their admiration and respect. A New England minister having once listened to his table-talk, exclaimed, "Why, David Hale is a philosopher!"

Yet it was the impression of many—especially of those who were in the habit of interrupting him at his office with trifling questions, when he was engaged in making out a price-current, or writing an important article—that he was seriously deficient in the softer traits of character. It is true that these were not so prominent as others of a sterner mold, and his character upon the whole was not so genial as that of Henry Martyn or of James Brainerd Taylor. He had in his composition more of *Peter* than of *John*. He lived more in the stern and stormy walks of duty than in the fragrant bowers of love. Of late years, however, the sterner features of his character were softened, or were rendered less prominent, by the filling out of those of finer texture. But his deficiency in this respect was by no means so great as they supposed who met him only in the rougher walks of life. That man knew little of David Hale who did not know him to be possessed of most refined sensibilities. When I had a touching incident to narrate, or a pathetic appeal to make, I knew that he would be the first man to be moved to tears.

The heroic and the tender are often thus intimately blended. Luther had great tenderness of heart and was often moved to tears like a child. John Knox when first called upon by his brethren to speak in behalf of the truth burst into tears and hid himself; yet he could throw overboard from the galley which was bearing him as a prisoner, the image of the Virgin which he was commanded to kiss, saying it was nothing but painted wood, and could confront monarchs as a witness for Christ. Washington went alone to weep and pray at Valley Forge. Men of the sternest mold often have beating under their scarred and rugged breasts a heart as delicate and sensitive as that of woman. Those who were accustomed to meet Mr. Hale in the social prayer-meeting learned that he had a tender heart. His prayers evinced a child-like spirit, full of submission and trust in God. His exhortations were those of simple, earnest, affectionate piety. Never shall I forget their impression. Would that I had them preserved in writing as they fell from his lips. In particular, I now remember one, which, like his happiest efforts in this way, was purely spontaneous. The hymn was read commencing with the words—

"Come let us join our songs of praise
To our ascended Priest;
He entered heaven with all our names
Engraven on his breast."

After the singing, Mr. Hale rose in his place and said: "Brethren, let us look a little at the sentiment of this hymn. Is it true? Have we thought what it means? Has Christ entered heaven with all our names engraven on his breast? Is *David Hale* written there? Is ——, and ——, written there? Does Christ know us individually, and present us to his Father name by name?"

The effect was overpowering. The sincere Christian realized his union with his Savior as he had never felt it before.

On another occasion, when he was to conduct the meeting, he came in hurriedly and took his seat, remarking that he had been so full of business through the day, that he had had no time to prepare for the meeting, not even to select a hymn; "but here is one," said he, opening the book, "that ought to put us in a right frame." He then read the hymn of Montgomery, beginning, "Forever with the Lord," and as he read his soul kindled with the theme, till he expatiated most eloquently on the blessed hope of the Christian:

"Here in the body pent,
Absent from thee I roam;
Yet nightly pitch my moving tent
A day's march nearer home.

"So when my latest breath
Shall rend the vail in twain,
By death I shall escape from death,
And life eternal gain.

"Knowing as I am known,
How shall I love that word;
And oft repeat before the throne,—
'Forever with the Lord.'"

"Yes," said he, with emphasis, "Forever with the Lord. No cares, no vexations, no hurry, no business, nothing to draw off our minds from Christ, nothing to fill our minds but Christ. What a blessed relief after being pent up so long in this poor body!"

That was the last time that Mr. Hale officiated as the leader of our prayer-meeting; both the substance and the manner of his exhortation are vividly remembered by many who were present. He seemed to pass at once from the bustle of the world into communion with Christ, into the atmosphere of heaven. About that time indeed, his mind appeared to be drawn more and more towards the contemplation of death, and of the heavenly world. This was not owing to any physical infirmity, or to anything which might

awaken the thought that his own end was near; it was one of the leadings of the divine Spirit to prepare him for that end. In a letter to his venerable mother, who was threatened with the last and fatal stroke of apoplexy, he unfolds fully his own feelings in view of death:

New York, March 9, 1848.

My Dear Mother—

I learn by a letter from David that you had quite a bad fainting turn on Tuesday. I hope that on such occasions you will be able to say and feel as Paul did when he was old, that though our earthly house of this tabernacle perish, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. It is a source of inexpressible comfort to me, that you have been spared until your once little son has become an old gray-headed man himself. We have had a long journey together on earth, and been blessed with much enjoyment in each other. But we grow old, and there is no way to renew our youth but to pass into another world, where we may hope to be always vigorous and young. What should we do but for the revelations which Christ has made to us—his expressions of love and confidence? Fear not, I am with thee; I will never leave nor forsake thee; I am the resurrection and the life. Whether living or dying we may be in His care, who is faithful beyond all other faithfulness. He came to save sinners, too, so that if we but trust Him, there is nothing for which He will not provide. An interest in Him is all that short-lived creatures like us need. Oh, if we can but cast ourselves affectionately on His arm, how firmly it will sustain us! You can trust Him, mother, for you have long endeavored to do so. One of our newspapers this afternoon, speaking of Mr. Adams, spoke of the abuse he had received, and the softening influence of old age upon public feeling. When he went West, said the editor, the people took him in their arms and carried him from place to place. This was not literally so, but in spirit it was, and I thought the idea was beautiful. How happy then may we feel to know that when we are old and gray-headed, God will not forsake us, but when we faint will put under us His arms, and carry us to the mansions of rest. It is good to be in God's hands: how good we should always feel it to be, did we not love this fleeting world too much!

But I intend to come and see you on Tuesday morning, and express to you, personally, how much I love my mother, and how thankful I am that you have been preserved so long in comfort of

body and mind. It is very comforting to me, that the children who are around you [his own children with whom she was] will continue to be earnest in their attention to supply all your wants, and I hope I may yet see you many times as I have done. But I know it is not likely that we shall see each other many times more on earth. If you depart before me it cannot be long before I shall follow you. Oh, that we may meet in the mansions which Christ has prepared for His people in the temple above. It will be to go no more out from the glory of the Lord forever.

The family all send their ardent love, and I shall hope to see you on Wednesday at farthest.

Your affectionate son,

DAVID HALE.

This letter is a model of filial affection and Christian faith. Thus did he discharge every duty in the family, in the church, in society, promptly, affectionately, cheerfully, conscientiously, filling up his days with usefulness, yet ever looking above and beyond this world for his rest and his reward. The current of life, which had often been so turbulent, and which had exposed him to so many dangers, and compelled him to so many struggles, was now flowing smoothly on amid scenes of verdure and gladness. His age had not yet passed into the sere and yellow leaf. "His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." He had a good prospect of many days.

But the intense and unceasing activity of his brain wore out the springs of life. In a moment those springs snapped, and he, so athletic and vigorous, became helpless as a child; he, so lively and active of mind, became dull, incoherent, unconscious. This was on the morning of the Sabbath, June 11th, 1848. He had risen apparently well, had taken a bath, and was completing his toilet, when he suddenly called to his companion that he was ill and felt as if he was about to die. Being conducted to a divan, he became almost immediately insensible. Medical aid was summoned, and the most active measures were taken to restore consciousness,

but he remained in a comatose state the greater part of the day. Had he died then, without one word as to his personal feelings, we could have entertained no doubt of his safety in and through Christ; but we should have lost many precious tokens of comfort and hope which now remain to us. But it pleased God to suspend the blow. For a long time however he seemed to hang between life and death. A painful, uneasy sensation in the head deprived him of sight and confused his thoughts. Once he started as from a dream, and exclaimed that he had just discovered that he was David Hale, having been long perplexed about his identity. He was raised gradually from this state of extreme mental and physical prostration, and was enabled to see his friends, to converse intelligently, to dictate an occasional letter, and to journey for the improvement of his health, though he continued much enfeebled in body, and was incapable of his usual mental exertion. In the course of the summer he visited his friends in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and seemed decidedly benefited by the tour. On returning to New York in the fall, he went almost every day to his office, though without attending to business; but the excitement of the city was too much for him in his weak and nervous state, and his physician recommended him to take another journey or a sea voyage. He left New York on the 7th of November, having first deposited his vote for President—accompanied by his devoted wife, who had been with him unceasingly from the first moment of his attack, and whose experience in sickness, united with a rare degree of fortitude and cheerfulness, rendered her fully competent for this important trust. His intention was to visit Cincinnati, and as winter approached to journey southward as far as New Orleans, and possibly to sail thence to Cuba. But finding himself unable to endure the fatigue of the tour which he had undertaken, he retraced his course to Philadelphia, and thence proceeded to Washington.

The providence of God directed him to Fredericksburg, Va., where his journey was arrested by increasing debility. Dropsical symptoms supervened, and his ultimate recovery became more and more doubtful. At length, an attack of influenza, which was epidemic in the place, terminated his sufferings, and happily delivered him from the protracted anguish of a death by the disease under which he labored. He died on the 20th January, 1849. With occasional exceptions he retained his consciousness to the last. When that consciousness returned after his first attack, it was evident that he was clinging to life. Both his constitution and his will struggled hard against his disease. He had so many plans, so many hopes, was so full of business, that he could scarcely be reconciled to the thought of death. He was particularly interested in the establishment of a religious newspaper in New York, to be conducted in a liberal and independent spirit; and he expressed his gratification that others had begun an enterprise which he had so long contemplated, but could not hope to accomplish. But by degrees his feelings underwent a change, and it was pleasing to observe how calmly he relinquished his hold upon the world, and resigned himself to the will of God.

Doubts and fears he had at times;—not doubts respecting the way of salvation, the fullness of Christ, the promises of God—but doubts respecting himself, resulting from his habit of close self-scrutiny, and his nice discrimination of his own mental states. He would sometimes sigh to find God as a near and present friend. Yet even these occasional doubts, and his caution in speaking of his own hope, were a comforting sign that his reason was unclouded, that his judgment of himself was to be relied upon, and that his confidence in Jesus, to whom he peacefully committed himself at the last, was not mistaken.

Those who understood his natural temperament and

were conversant with his religious life, would not look for anything ecstatic in his last hours. Yet one who was much with him testifies that "there were times when he might have yielded to the floods of emotion,—grateful and happy affections which commenced to issue from his heart, and might, if unrestrained, have suddenly broken down the banks of clay and borne him with a rush of rapture into the other world; but reason always stopped the outlet before the current of emotion became uncontrollable." But we shall best learn his state from his own expressions. At one time he said, "It would take so little to carry me to the arms of Jesus, that I am sorry to wait—yet I shall perhaps find that I have mistaken the way—such a sea of troubles as I have to go through." On another occasion he spoke nearly as follows: "God is my portion, and I am sincerely desirous that his government should be maintained in all things. It is strange in how short a time I have become reconciled to death, and, indeed, perhaps I am not yet reconciled. I thought that if ten or fifteen years could be added to my life, it would be exceedingly desirable. But my work is done, I have only odds and ends to finish of the things I have begun, yet I would have liked to remain in the world some time longer, and managed its affairs as well as I could; but now I think I am sincerely reconciled to bear it, and let God do as He will." In particular his interest in prayer increased. On one occasion, towards the close of his sickness, when a prayer was offered ending with the words "and we will praise the Father, Son and Holy Ghost forever;" he broke out with emphasis, "So we will; so we will! Yes, we will praise them—we will praise them—forever and ever!" He sent his love to all the Tabernacle Church—to its pastor and to several members by name, and in his wandering thoughts desired to be "dated" from the Tabernacle. When asked if he was reconciled to lingering sickness, should that be

God's will, he answered, "Yes; I think I am sincerely reconciled to God's will, whatever it be; but I have my preferences, and should prefer a speedy death. My work is finished. I am satisfied that for the most part I have done my duty, not boastfully, but humbly, as a man ought to do it." Toward the last, death appeared to him more and more desirable; his childlike trust in the Savior increased, and he could say with the dying Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." His last message to his children was, "*Tell them to trust in Jesus, as I hope I do.*" Thus gently he passed away.

"His was the upright deed,
His the unswerving course.
'Mid every thwarting current's force,
Unchanged by venal aim, or flattery's hollow reed:
The Holy Truth walked ever by his side,
And in his bosom dwelt, companion, judge and guide.
But when disease revealed
To his unclouded eye
The stern destroyer standing nigh,
Where turned he for a shield?
Wrapt he the robe of stainless rectitude
Around his heart to meet cold Jordan's flood?
Grasped he the staff of pride,
His steps through death's dark vale to guide?
Ah, no! self-righteousness he cast aside;
Clasping with firm and fearless faith the cross of Him who died;—*Serene*, SERENE,
He passed the crumbling verge of this terrestrial scene,
Breathed soft, in childlike trust,
The parting groan,
Gave back to dust its dust,
To Heaven its own."

"And I heard a voice from Heaven saying to me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."

The remains of Mr. Hale were brought to New York, where they arrived on the 23d of January; the funeral took place on the 25th. The day was unpleasant, and the hour inconvenient for men of business; but a large concourse of persons were in attendance. The remains were interred in Greenwood Cemetery. The following account of the funeral services is from the *Journal of Commerce* of the succeeding day:

FUNERAL OF MR. HALE.—"The remains of our late friend and partner, DAVID HALE, were yesterday deposited in their last resting-place,—'earth to earth and dust to dust.'

"At 12 o'clock, noon, the invited friends and relatives of the deceased convened at his late residence in Murray street, where an appropriate prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Thompson, pastor of the Tabernacle Church, of which Mr. Hale was a member. A procession was then formed, and moved on foot from the house to the Tabernacle. At the Tabernacle, which was nearly filled with spectators and friends, numbering, probably, 1500 or upwards, the services were introduced with a few impressive remarks by the pastor, after which, prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Patton. The hymn commencing, 'Friend after friend departs,' was then sung by the choir, and select passages of Scripture were read by the pastor. Next, a thrilling address was made by Rev. Henry W. Beecher, of Brooklyn, in which he alluded to the religious character of the deceased, his eminent usefulness, and his peaceful exit. To those who had access to the secret chambers of his soul, it was manifest, said the speaker, that Mr. Hale's highest interest was above. He (Mr. Beecher) had seen the tears trickle down his naturally stern features, on hearing of some new triumph of the Redeemer's kingdom. His heart was tender on such subjects, and his hand was ever open to promote the cause he loved. When death approached, he was not appalled, but 'trusting in Jesus,' (to use his own expression,) he bade the message welcome. When such men die, the speaker could not mourn, but must exult and triumph. They had accomplished the great object of life, and were now free from its temptations and infirmities. Of all the persons in that house, *he* (pointing to the corpse beneath the pulpit) is the wisest, the happiest, and the holiest."

"Mr. Beecher was followed by Rev. Dr. Lansing of Brooklyn, in an address to the throne of grace. The hymn, 'Hear what the

voice from Heaven proclaims For all the pious dead,' was then sung, and, with the benediction, closed the public services. The whole scene was deeply interesting and impressive; and not least the readiness with which several hundred persons embraced the opportunity afforded at the close of the exercises, of passing successively near the corpse, and taking a last look of a countenance which to most of them was familiar."

"From the Tabernacle, the procession moved in carriages, about thirty in number, to the Brooklyn South Ferry, and thence to Greenwood Cemetery, where the body was interred."

On the following Sabbath morning (January 28th), a discourse upon the life and character of Mr. Hale was delivered at the Tabernacle by the pastor of the church, to an immense audience who testified their interest in the occasion by a solemn and tearful silence. This discourse was published in the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Tribune*, and the *Independent*.

TRIBUTE OF GERARD HALLOCK.

The following tribute to the memory of Mr. Hale, from the pen of his surviving partner, Gerard Hallock, Esq., is given entire, though some of its statements have been anticipated.

THE LATE DAVID HALE.—Mr. Hale was born at Lisbon, Conn., on the 25th of April, 1791, and died on the 20th of January, 1849, in the 58th year of his age. His father was a clergyman and teacher of youth.

When David was eleven years old, the family removed from Lisbon to South Coventry, Conn.

At the age of fifteen or sixteen, he went to Boston in search of employment, and engaged as clerk in a jobbing house in State street. After various changes and disappointments, which it is not necessary here to mention, he went into business on his own account. In the mean time he had experienced religion under the preaching of Rev. Dr. Griffin, and united with Park-street Church.

The writer first became acquainted with him in 1823. He was then an active member of Essex-street Church, having been designated, with others from Park-street and the Old South, (the only orthodox Congregational churches of any magnitude then

existing in Boston,) to form a nucleus for the new enterprise. There was plenty of work to be done,—for the whole current of popular influence was against them. A congregation was to be collected; Sabbath-schools were to be gathered and instructed; religious meetings were to be held, in the conference room and in private houses; and a multitude of benevolent enterprises, yet in their infancy, presented strong claims for aid. In all these things, Mr. Hale was among the most prominent and active members. He was then thirty-two years of age. The writer once asked him how long he intended to be a teacher in the Sabbath-school; his reply was, that he "had enlisted during the war." It was a pithy remark, and has since been verified by twenty-five years experience. Amidst the various distractions of business, during this long period, he always found time to devote to his Master's service. If he had money, *that* was freely laid on the same altar. He has often remarked to the writer, that the most he wanted money for was to *give it away*. His practice has corresponded with his preaching. He *has* given nearly all his available earnings; nay, has often anticipated them, for the promotion of benevolent objects. When he was a merchant, in moderate business, and with but little capital, he gave only hundreds; but when, in later years, his income was thousands, he gave thousands, and in the aggregate, tens of thousands. His connection with the *Journal of Commerce* was doubly agreeable to him, because it gave him a two-fold power of doing good: first, by the moral, social, and political influence of the paper itself, and secondly, by the pecuniary emolument which it yielded.

The circumstances which brought himself and the writer into connection with each other, as joint editors and proprietors of this paper, are a little remarkable. As I said before, (if for convenience' sake the reader will allow me to use the first person singular,) I became acquainted with him in Boston in 1823. He was then in prosperous business as a merchant; I was a stranger, comparatively very young, without pecuniary resources, yet resolved, if a few hundred dollars could be loaned me, to establish a weekly paper there, for which there appeared to be an opening. Scarcely had I made known my object, plan, and wants, when the money was handed me by *David Hale*, who had collected it from a few friends, himself included, with the condition that I should "return it when convenient." In a little more than a year I did return it, with interest.

Before 1827, a change had come over us both. Mr. Hale had yielded to the storm of 1825. He had removed to New York, and become editor and half proprietor of the *New York Observer*. When Arthur Tappan,—then a prince in liberality, and now more

than a prince in benevolent aspirations, though his means are less, —determined to establish the *Journal of Commerce*, I lost no time in recommending Mr. Hale for the commercial and business department, and had the satisfaction to see the recommendation carried into effect. At the very commencement of the paper, September 1, 1827, Mr. Hale was on hand, and entered upon his duties. But neither he nor I foresaw the difficulties he would have to contend with, nor the embarrassments, of various kinds, which would impede the success of the enterprise. Mr. Tappan himself became discouraged,—not so much on account of the money he had expended, (though the amount was large,) as because it seemed impossible, with any amount of money, to make the paper what it ought to be. In this state of things, Mr. Lewis Tappan called at my office one day, and told me that his brother had determined to discontinue the paper *next week*, unless it could be placed on a different footing. [This was near the close of 1828, the paper having been in existence about sixteen months.] He at the same time presented me certain propositions which contemplated the conditional purchase of the establishment by Mr. Hale and myself jointly, and then retired, saying, "Upon you, sir, I throw the responsibility of deciding whether the *Journal of Commerce* shall be discontinued, or not;" or to that effect. The appeal was a strong one,—especially to me, who had taken much interest in the success of the enterprise, though I had not entertained the remotest idea of being personally connected with it; and, although pleasantly situated where I was, I decided, on reflection, to accept the overture, and the consequence has been, *twenty years of unceasing toil*, both to Mr. Hale and myself, and *the establishment of the paper on a basis of permanent usefulness.*

In looking back upon the incidents above related, and many others which cannot be recorded here, the ordering of Providence is so clear that it would be a sin not to perceive and recognize it. Had I not known Mr. Hale intimately, (having been a member of his family in Boston more than a year,) and had we not mutually reposed the utmost confidence in each other, the connection would not have been formed, and the *Journal of Commerce* would long since have been among the things that were. I own that at this time I did not appreciate, nor fully know, the strength of his intellectual powers; nor did either of us dream that he would ever take the stand which he has taken, as one of the ablest editors in the Union. I only expected to receive occasional aid from his pen, and that not of the highest order; but in point of fact, while he made his own (the commercial) department of the paper all that could be desired, he became a most efficient coadjutor in the editorial department proper. For vigor of conception,

force of reasoning, and aptness of illustration, some of his articles would not suffer in comparison with the leading editorials of the *London Times*. Language he did not study, having had but a common school education in his youth,—yet by long practice, he acquired a facility of expression which many of the best scholars are not able to command. Thoughts he never lacked. They flowed faster than his pen could indite them.

The prominent qualities of his mind were greatness, strength, quickness, and fertility. His conclusions were drawn suddenly, and, as it seemed, almost intuitively. His discernment of character was remarkable. He had a rich vein of humor, which, in connection with his intellectual resources, gave to his conversation a peculiar interest. He was sometimes severe, both in manner and in judgment. With a temper naturally impetuous, and not entirely subdued by grace, he occasionally expressed himself harshly, not to say unadvisedly. But I know that he contended manfully against these infirmities, and sought to subdue them. I have several times heard him lament that he had not more of the meekness of wisdom. Once he told me that he had resolved to set a double guard at the door of his lips; or to that effect. A bad man does not so repent and resolve.

One of the agreeable traits of Mr. Hale's character was his perfect frankness. There was no guile about him. He was incapable of it himself, and despised it in others.

He had many warm friends, and some enemies. But, in general, those who knew him best loved him most. His faults were, from their nature, uppermost; while many of his excellencies were, from their nature, invisible to the public eye. A stranger, beholding his lofty, independent bearing, and hearing his gruff voice, would not have suspected that there beat within his breast a heart of warm affection, tender sensibility, and Christian charity; that he held daily communion with his Maker, and conscientiously sought to know and do His will. Yet so it was. After twenty-five years of intimate acquaintance with him, under a great variety of circumstances, I am convinced that so it was.

The bold points of his character above indicated made him a mark for a greater amount of personal abuse than has fallen to the lot of any other editor within my knowledge. He was abused, not only for his faults, and the faults of others, but for his virtues. Many an article or paragraph in our columns which he never saw or heard of until he saw it in print, has been made the occasion of a fresh tirade of abuse towards himself personally and by name. Fortunately, such effusions gave him no uneasiness. If he read them at all, which latterly was not very common, he generally accompanied the reading with a laugh, and the louder in proportion to the spitefulness of the attack.

One incident, which afforded his assailants a "nut to crack" for a considerable time, was his suffering himself to be rattanned or cowhided (we forget which) on 'Change, by a little Frenchman. From this they inferred a lack of personal courage. Now the fact is, that having reason to expect the attack, he deliberately made up his mind beforehand, that being a professor of religion, and an elder in a Christian church, he would not be converted into a pugilist at the option of another; and, in short, that he would make no resistance unless he should find he would otherwise be seriously injured. He very well knew that with one sweep of his long, sturdy arm, he could demolish his assailant. But he did not wish to hurt him, and was not much hurt by him. The paragraph which gave rise to the assault was not written by Mr. Hale, nor by me; nor was it strictly personal. But let that pass. Is it not manifest, that to receive the infliction passively, under such circumstances, required a much higher degree of personal control, than if he had followed the dictates of depraved nature? On a subsequent occasion, when he expected a street assault from a powerful man, he said to me, "If attacked, I shall defend myself. I cannot afford to trifle with him,—he will hurt me too much." My own opinion is, that few individuals possess a higher degree either of personal or moral courage than did Mr. Hale; and if I had wished to find a man who, at the call of duty, would perform the perilous feat attempted by his uncle, Captain Nathan Hale, in the Revolution, and then, like him, when about to be swung from the gallows, exclaim, "My only regret is, that I have but one life to give for my country," I know not whom I should have selected sooner than the subject of this notice.

One other topic I will mention, as it has given rise to more misrepresentation and reproach than even the foregoing. I allude to Mr. Hale's purchase of the Broadway Tabernacle. This purchase was made in the year 1840. Property and credit were at the lowest ebb. Money was worth two per cent. a month. Rich men felt poor, and the poor men felt like beggars. In such a state of things it was announced that the Tabernacle was about to be sold under a foreclosure. It had been occupied as a Presbyterian church, and a pure Gospel had been preached there. It was now liable to fall into the hands of errorists, of one kind or another, and in that case, instead of being what it had been, and was intended to be, it would become a grand center of mischief. Various efforts were made among the good people of the Presbyterian denomination to raise the necessary funds, but without success. At length David Hale came to me, and inquired if I had any objection to *his* buying the Tabernacle. I was astounded at the suggestion, knowing that he really had no money to spare,

and that all the receipts of the firm would be required for a considerable time for the payment of debts; yet I gave my consent. I however remarked to him that his motives would be misconstrued,—that it would be said he was speculating in churches, and all that,—and I would advise him, on the spot, to place the matter in such shape that under no circumstances could he realize more than seven per cent. on the money invested. He approved of my suggestion, and governed himself accordingly. He might have made $15,000 or $20,000 out of the transaction, and he fully believed so at the time; but instead of this, he raised money wherever he could obtain it, either from his own resources, the good will of personal friends, or the friends of the cause, and then loaned it to the society at seven per cent. Such was the effect of the operation, though in form he was the purchaser and owner of the property. But this is not all. For several years after the purchase, he had the sole management of the building, renting it from day to day, and evening to evening, as he had opportunity, for public purposes, receiving pay for the same, and in various ways expending time and labor about it,—for no part of which has he ever received or desired to receive a single cent for his own benefit. Every dollar realized from such meetings, or from the building in any way, has been applied toward the extinction of indebtedness upon the property, the payment of interest, &c. The result of the matter is, that a considerable portion of the cost of the edifice has been extinguished by its own earnings. It is now the property of the society worshiping in it, at a cost not equal to half its value; and the only pecuniary advantage that Mr. Hale has ever derived from it, is, that he has been largely out of pocket on account of the purchase, and still is, to the extent of $4000 or $5000, which, however, we understand, is about to be paid to his heirs.

Take it all in all, the purchase of the Tabernacle ought to be regarded as the crowning act of his life. For not only was it one of the most liberal acts (considering the pecuniary circumstances of the purchaser at that time) to be found in the annals of benevolence, but it was a *parent* act, of which the offspring have already risen, in goodly numbers, both in this city and Brooklyn. Since the purchase of the Tabernacle, and by a process easily traced back to that event, not less than ten or eleven Congregational churches have been organized in the two cities, most of which are large and flourishing, and provided with pastors of distinguished talents and piety. The pecuniary contributions of Mr. Hale in aid of these various enterprises are thus stated in the new Congregational paper, the *Independent*, of the present week. [See Appendix F.]

THE LATE DAVID HALE.—As we were unable in a single day, amidst many interruptions, to say all that we designed to say in regard to the character and life of our deceased friend and partner, it was our intention to add a supplementary article in a future number. But the points in reserve, or most of them, have been so happily touched upon by his pastor, Rev. J. P. Thompson, in the funeral discourse since published in our columns, that we deem it unnecessary to go over the ground again. We will however add a few words in regard to Mr. Hale's sickness and death.

Until about a year since, his health was remarkably good. His business, as well as his inclination, required him to take a good deal of exercise, which kept his system healthful and vigorous. It was a pleasure to see the youthful energy with which he moved. Early last spring, he began to complain of not feeling as well as usual, and took an excursion or two, in the hope of regaining his accustomed energy, but without success. Nothing serious was apprehended, however, until Sunday morning, the 11th of June, when in his own house he was suddenly attacked with congestion of the brain, or a kind of apoplexy. When the shock first came on, he remarked to his companion that he did not know what was the matter with him, but that he felt as if he were dying. He partly fell and partly was assisted upon the sofa, and became immediately helpless and insensible. In this condition he remained for several hours, notwithstanding the efforts of skillful physicians to restore him. It was at this time doubtful whether he would live through the day. Toward night, however, he experienced some relief, and in the course of a day or two the physicians pronounced him out of immediate danger. In two or three weeks, he was able to sit up some, and in about two months, he could walk a short distance out of doors. He was, however, still very feeble, both in body and mind. The shock to the latter was almost as great as to the former. Even after he became rational, there was still a blur over his mind, which made him unconscious of his own identity. Or rather, he did not know who he was. One day, about three weeks after the attack, he remarked with much apparent satisfaction, that he had just found out that he was David Hale! In August he had so far recovered, that his physicians advised him to journey a little, taking care not to overdo, and accordingly he spent a month or two in Connecticut and other parts of New England, going as far north as New Hampshire. During this absence he wrote two or three short letters, which were published in our columns. Although possessing some of the usual characteristics of his writings, they evinced but too plainly that he was not what he had been. With these ex-

ceptions, nothing from his pen has appeared in our columns since the 11th of June. He returned to New York in October, and after remaining here two or three weeks, during which he did not gain strength as fast as was expected, he started for the South, intending to go down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans, and hoping to return in good health next spring. In all these journeys, and subsequently to the moment of his death, he was attended by his faithful wife, whose care and watchings were never intermitted, when they could be made available to his comfort. On their arrival at Harrisburgh, the weather was cold, and it was feared that the canal would be frozen before they could reach Pittsburgh. This and other considerations induced them to return to Philadelphia, whence they proceeded to Washington City. Mr. Hale did not bear the journey well, either from New York to Harrisburgh, or from Harrisburgh to Washington; and on his arrival at the latter place, was obliged to stop several days to recruit. It now became a question whether he should go farther away from home, or return. Many fears were entertained, that, if he went to the far South, as he had contemplated, it would be only to die there. He at length decided to go forward, and with some difficulty reached Fredericksburgh, Virginia, stopping at a most excellent public house, and withal a temperance establishment, called "The Exchange." Both he and his friends afterwards thought it a most providential circumstance that he should have "brought up" at exactly the place of all places, except his own home, where he would have wished to be, and they to have him, had they known that it was to be the scene of his last sickness and death. The most kind and delicate attentions were proffered him and his family, by the keepers of the house and its guests, and by many other inhabitants of Fredericksburgh, (among whom ought especially to be mentioned his devoted and eminently skillful physician, Dr. Welford,) who, though strangers to him personally, yet knowing his character and usefulness, vied with each other in manifestations of kindness and sympathy, and the only measure of their attentions was a discreet regard to the limit where, in a case of sickness and sorrow, even kindness becomes a burden. Mr. Hale, while living, and those members of his family who were with him in his sickness, felt, and the survivors still feel, that both the measure and character of the attentions bestowed upon him and them by the people of Fredericksburgh were such as could only proceed from the most benevolent hearts, united with the most delicate sense of fitness and propriety. It is pleasant to reflect in this connection, that Mr. Hale was always a friend to the South as well as the North, and that on all proper occasions he rebuked that reckless, fanatical spirit which heeds

not results—no, not the Union itself,—if only the "one idea" can be urged to its consummation.

His religious feelings in the prospect of death were such as might be expected from a man who had so long cherished the Christian's hope. Although at first he desired to live longer, for several reasons, yet he afterwards became entirely willing and even desirous to die. He knew in whom he had believed. Two or three days before his death, being asked by his companion if he wished to send any message to his friends in New York, as she was about writing to them, he said, "Tell them all to put their trust in Christ, as I hope I do."

Having remarked on a former occasion that Mr. Hale gave away nearly all his available earnings, it may be proper to add that his interest in the *Journal of Commerce* is alone a handsome property, and that altogether his estate, after deducting indebtedness, cannot be less than $75,000 or $80,000. Such, at least, is the writer's opinion.

SELECTIONS

FROM THE

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

OF

DAVID HALE.

Miscellaneous Writings.

THE following selections from the writings of Mr. Hale are made partly from his published articles in the *Journal of Commerce* and in those religious newspapers to which he occasionally contributed, and partly from unpublished manuscripts which he had prepared and arranged for a fourth number of his "Facts and Reasonings." A topical arrangement has been adopted as more convenient than one following the order of time, though the latter has been observed as far as practicable.

LETTERS ON THE THEATER.

Addressed in 1826 to the Committee for erecting the Tremont Theater in Boston.

LETTER I.

GENTLEMEN—Permit one of your fellow citizens to lay before you some of the thoughts which have passed his mind, in reflecting upon the enterprise in which in you are engaged. You are men of generous and patriotic minds. You have laid your plans upon a liberal scale. Having selected one of the most beautiful sites in a city unrivaled for elegant situations, you propose to erect upon it an edifice which shall endure for ages, and be admired in the midst of architectural magnificence—a structure, which shall maintain its massy dignity while mirth reigns within its walls; nor change, until in years to come, the funeral processions of its builders shall have one after another passed by, and all who witnessed its rising have long slumbered in the grave. When the labor of its erection shall be completed, and art have finished its decorations, its doors shall be opened, and with the sound of the viol and every instrument of music, the throng, retiring from the busy pursuits and anxieties of the day, shall be

invited here, to throw off their cares, and for the evening at least to be mirthful. Here poetry shall carry its thrill through the soul, the art of mimicry make distant scenes and ages present, and genius and eloquence and grace exert their power. Here Apollo and the Sacred Nine shall dwell, and the delighted crowd return and return to pay to them their willing evening sacrifice. But neither at its opening, nor during the long ages while its walls shall stand, will the herald of salvation, with the sacred Bible in his hand, tell of the tragedy on Calvary, or proclaim the hopes of eternity to dying men. No throng shall bend their knee in prayer, or raise their voices in shouts of thanksgiving to that one God, who for a theater has built the universe, for scenery spread out nature, whose tinsel is the rainbow, whose spangles are planets, whose actors are men and angels led on by himself, the Lord of hosts. Here shall assemble from evening to evening many of great worth and respectability, the company of the gay, whose hearts are sad, and of those whose only care is to be happy *now;* and here shall also come the painted harlot, whose house is on the way to hell, and with her the veteran debauchee, whose path is strewed with broken vows and ruined innocence. The youth, too, the hope of his mother, whose head has often received a father's blessing, with glowing passions will come here to be devoured by vultures. But into these doors, he who seeks the Savior will never turn hoping to find him: the afflicted will never seek comfort in pouring out his complaint before his Father in Heaven. If the name of God is called at all, will it not be in profanation, or to add weight to curses? Will not the Bible be mentioned with contempt, and the blessed Savior sometimes be made the song of the drunkard? When the assemblies disperse, many will go away to spend the night in debauchery, and but very few to spend an hour with God in their closets. If sometimes a good resolution is strengthened, or a virtuous principle cherished, in a thousand instances the bands of virtue will be loosened. From year to year a multitude will enter here upon a course of dissipation in which they will be hurried to destruction. From age to age many fond parents will weep tears of blood over their ruined sons, and possibly their fallen daughters; and wives and sisters join the lamentation.

And now permit me to say most respectfully to you, gentlemen, that for all these consequences the builders of the new theater make themselves responsible. And let me ask you, is this the return which is due from you to the city in which you reside, and in which you have accumulated your wealth? Is this the inheritance you would leave to your children? Will you consent for the sake of increasing a little, that wealth of which

you have already enough, to visit all these evils upon yourselves, and your neighbors, and your posterity for ages?

Some farther considerations I will soon address to you, and remain your obedient servant,

A FATHER.

LETTER II.

GENTLEMEN—The object of these letters is by no means to offend; neither is it to draw towards you the personal disrespect of any member of the community. On the contrary, it is the personal respect which I feel towards all the subscribers, so far as I know them, and the full confidence that they would do nothing which they believed an injury to the community, which has induced me to write. And I take the channel of a newspaper, the more readily to meet the eye of several of the subscribers, and for the purpose of drawing forth the sentiments of a very great number of my fellow-citizens, who I know have the same feelings with myself. It is to little purpose, that your friends and neighbors mention your names with sorrow in their private circles, as connected with the building of a new theater, if those expressions be not carried to your ears. If a very humble individual can induce those friends to speak freely to you, and still more, if he can persuade you to look over the subject again, there is some hope, that what seems to me a most portentous evil to our city may yet be averted.

I am satisfied that there is in the community a growing disapprobation of the theater. Within ten years the advance has been very perceptible. The long-maintained doctrine that it is a school for morals is now held by very few. The disreputable lives of most of the actors, the scenes of the upper boxes, of the lobbies, saloons, and neighboring rooms, have poured forth proof to demonstration. The ruin of their fondest hopes has carried to many families, not conviction only, but a broken heart. A very respectable gentleman informed me, that within the circle of his own family connections, three very promising young men had recently been utterly ruined, and their ruin could be distinctly traced to the theater, as its origin. Another told me, that such had been his experience upon the subject, that though in extensive mercantile business, he felt obliged, painful as it was, to turn any apprentice from his counting-room, who attended the theater. He *could not* trust them. I know other men of the highest respectability, who never take mercantile papers to their dwellings, because of the evil effects of theater advertisements. The plans you have proposed, to promote good order and prevent licen-

tiousness in the contemplated theater, are proofs of this progress of sentiment. In order that the enterprise may be popular, it must have a character above what is common.

As an evidence of this change, and a fact much facilitating its progress, I adduce the combination of men of high and liberal character for this very purpose. So enormous has the evil become, that it can no longer be borne; and if the same moral power which has revolutionized the opinions of the world on the subjects of the African character, the slave trade, civil and religious liberty, and other great interests, does not find a more impregnable fortress in the remaining favor toward theaters, then on this topic also will public sentiment ere long be raised to the standard of truth, however high that may be. It cannot require a very long-continued or powerful effort to overturn the remaining arguments, that theaters are a necesssary evil, and that it is better to go to them than to worse places. Both these arguments admit, on the face of them, that theaters are bad in themselves; an evil to be tolerated. Unless some stronger and higher position can be taken, a capitulation is at hand. These arguments have always been the last defense of abuses, when exposed and pursued; and behind this fortress of basket-work, they have one after another submitted to the invincible arms of truth. Necessary! Put an end to the indulgence, and you end the necessity for it. And as to the other, send a boy to the theater upon this principle and see whether he escapes a worse place. We know the story of the man, who, when three crimes were proposed to him, chose intoxication as the least heinous; and when intoxicated committed both the others.

Some other considerations I will take the liberty to submit on another occasion, and remain most respectfully your obedient servant,

A Father.

LETTER III.

Gentlemen—I remarked in my last letter that public sentiment was becoming more conformable to the standard of truth. I will now make a few remarks illustrative of this.

It is within the recollection of this generation, that merchants engaged in the slave trade were considered honorable men. They walked on 'Change, and made their contracts, and conversed of their profits, thinking of public scorn no more than if trading in bales of cotton. And perhaps they were scarcely more culpable, for the enormous wickedness of the traffic had never been exposed, or even suggested to their minds. Mr. Wilberforce

united in the first systematic effort to expose those enormities, and he has lived to see public opinion so changed by his own and his most honorable coadjutor's labors, that now the traffic not only covers the merchant with disgrace, but carries him to the gibbet and hangs him as a pirate. So tremendous has been the turning round of public opinion, that no man would willingly acknowledge his *father* to have been engaged in the trade. It would be a blot on the family escutcheon. We know the effect on the reputation of some men whose names are never mentioned, or their son's names, but with this association. I use this history, not to compare your enterprise with the slave trade; though little blame was attached to that forty years ago, and drawing the likeness from that period it could not be severe; but I do it to exhibit the changes which have been effected in public opinion. And I say the time may be, when he who would inflict the severest reproach on your son shall point to the structure in Common street, and say, "thy *father* helped to build that *theater*."

I have lived long enough to see those things which were thought to give the finest polish, expelled with contempt from decent society. In my youth, infidelity of sentiment and profaneness of language were almost indispensable to the fine gentleman. They were boastingly exhibited in the company of ladies, and many ladies could utter an oath with a manly grace. I need not tell you what company a profane woman must keep now; nor whether a man who should use profane language in the presence of ladies, would pass for a gentleman. The change of sentiment on the subject of dueling has wiped that reproach from New England, and will ere long drive it from the whole republic. I can remember when, at convivial dinners or suppers, it was not much thought of, that a gentleman should become intoxicated, if the wine was but good; or at least, that he should be helped to his home, by companions, who might chance to be in a better condition than himself. Where is now the reputation of that man who gets intoxicated at a dinner?—All these are the revolutions of twenty years. They are the dashings of a tide which has just begun to set upon us, but which, when the sun of intelligence and virtue has risen to its meridian, will bear away with resistless desolation the strong embankments of iniquity. If the theater is founded on truth, it will stand against the flood; but if, as I verily believe, while our churches are the gate of heaven, our theaters are the gate of perdition; if their doors are emphatically, as is written over some of them, the "entrance to the pit;" then, ere long, will an enlightened and indignant community sweep them away, and hardly can their builders expect to escape uninjured.

Such progress has a reformation of sentiment already made, that most denominations of Christians, in this city at least, consider an attendance upon the theater as discreditable in any member of their churches. It will require no great advance farther to render an attendance inconsistent with any religious character. And as to the fashion, let me remark, there is great danger, that to be religious will be the next which reigns. The friends of virtue have now the means of presenting its claims constantly before the community. In the dark ages, abuses might expect to exist unmolested; but in the midst of printing presses, and associations, and means of so many kinds, they cannot escape exposure. Escially are the inhabitants of Boston within the reach of moral influence. There is not here, as in New York, a constantly changing population of thirty thousand strangers; and were the question of building a new theater now to be submitted to the citizens of Boston, I am confident that their vote would be a decided negative. And further, I am confident, that would you consent to stop and appropriate the beautiful site which you have purchased, to some other object, a large sum could be raised from the community to indemnify you against loss.

A FATHER.

LETTER IV.

GENTLEMEN—Perhaps I ought to say before I proceed, that the erection of the proposed theater is not likely to affect my pecuniary interests or those of any of my friends in the least degree. The motives which have actuated me appear on the face of what I have written.

There are several considerations not yet suggested, which indicate a change of public opinion unfavorable to theaters. Aside from a change of moral sentiment which is going on, there is the very important fact, that public attention is beginning to be drawn strongly to other amusements. The favor with which philosophical lectures on a variety of topics have been received, exhibits an intellectual taste which is germinating and taking deep root in the upper classes of society. To these lectures a father may take his wife and daughters without the fear that they will be covered with blushes at vulgar ribaldry, and his son without the fear that he will fall into the enticements of the bar-room or of the upper boxes.

A taste for the fine arts is rapidly gaining strength. The intelligent and liberal plans of the directors of the Atheneum here, and of similar institutions elsewhere, have a strong tendency to divert the current from theaters; and I cannot but think that they

will do more than produce a mere diversion. The very gross performances at some of the theaters must be taken as a part of theater management and bring disgrace upon the fraternity. The shameless exhibitions of their persons by Madame de Hutin and other females at the Bowery Theater in New York will be associated with the theater generally. The fact which I have seen repeatedly stated, that theaters in England are bad property, is a strong corroboration of what I have said. In Boston, while the population of the city has doubled, the support of the theater has not increased. A very large proportion of the patronage which exists is from strangers, who are here for a few days only; and building another theater cannot much increase this part of the company. And as to the sober citizens who reside here, they are too much accustomed to excitement, to be moved by anything more to be done. The annual expenses of the present theater are about $35,000; and if I am correctly informed, the receipts have uniformly left but a very moderate profit. If your theater goes into operation under the circumstances of rivalry which must exist, the expenses of both establishments cannot be less than $75,000. If you cannot more than double the present rate of income, you will lose money. And is there any reasonable prospect, that you can induce the thinking citizens of Boston to give theaters three or four times their present patronage?—which must be done, for the support of strangers cannot be much augmented. But is there not some hope that you will be able to close the Federal-street Theater? If you could, yours would hardly be kept open. But how can you accomplish this? The owners of that theater are numerous and wealthy. They can give the rent to their managers as they say they have already done for three years; or they can burn the theater and not be injured. But it is not so with most of you. A few of you have money which you can sport with; but most of you, though respectable mechanics, have not. What, let me ask you, is it reasonable to expect your stock will be worth in one year after the completion of your labor upon a theater which will cost at least $100,000, and remain deeply in debt? What is the value of a largely mortgaged property, which cannot be made to produce an income? It would be easy to adduce other arguments to prove, that the expensive building which you are erecting must be poor property as to income, as well as poor in character. You would have a *well regulated* theater. It is a mere chimera. To a theater which should produce a good moral effect, who would go? Neither the bad, nor the good, nor the indifferent. The low classes must be baited with vulgarity, and the higher would find better entertainment elsewhere. To regale all tastes with

dishes seasoned only to the palates of the pit and the third row, I am confident will ere long be found impossible.

It was my intention to end these letters with the third; but the united expression of approbation, which I have heard from gentlemen, whose sentiments are various on other topics, has induced me to add a fourth to the number. This strong approbation, expressed not so much of the mode in which I have exhibited the subject, as of the opinions advanced, I consider as an indication of much good. There certainly is a strong feeling pervading the community adverse to your enterprise. I have heard of no man who has been dissatisfied with these letters.

Now, gentlemen, I may safely say, I wash my hands of the guilt of erecting the new theater in Common street. A virtuous community also disclaims all participation in the deed. The blood of all the victims murdered on your altar be upon your heads; we are clear. But are you sure that you can bear the tremendous responsibility which you are taking? Tell me not that the building of a theater compels nobody to drink; and that a gallery of prostitutes compels nobody to be lewd. Such a doctrine we never act upon. The temptations of Satan compelled nobody to eat of the forbidden fruit, yet that temptation has filled our earth with mourning, and that God who said to Satan, "Thou art cursed," has not altered his opinions or the rules of his conduct. And are you certain that no curse beyond the indignation of an injured community awaits you? Are you certain that the pit which you are digging, you will not yourselves fall into? You are but men, and have already felt how strong is the power of temptation. But most of you are fathers. Would you have the delicate sensibility which now plays through your daughter's affections exchanged for the gross emotions of the theater? Would you drive from her cheek the expression of that sensibility, and bleach her countenance to a steady composure amidst the language and conduct of sensuality? and more—train her to give the smile of approbation to that vulgarity, at which the pit laughs? Nay, save her from such a fall—I also am a father.

And for your son, will you erect a bar and place intoxication before his inexperience, in its most attractive forms? Will you prepare a place, where he shall be surrounded by the most depraved and yet the most enticing companions which the community affords? Still more; will you build a house upon your grounds, that in it he may meet and revel with harlots? Nay spare him; when your own head is white, and the hands of his mother are feeble, you will need the support of his steady arm, not trembling with a premature, as yours with a real, old age.

As I advance, the view enlarges before me, and new and weighty considerations crowd upon my mind; but I have not time, and perhaps it would not effect more were I to go farther. I leave the subject to your reflections. Upon you, I say again, if you go on with the enterprise, rests the responsibility; and upon your souls will be found, as accomplices and tempters, a dreadful share in all the consequences. And let me say, you will have a long-continued account to give of the transaction, to your own consciences, to your injured fellow citizens, and to your offended God.

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

A FATHER.

LETTER V.

To the Inhabitants of Boston.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—You have seen the letters which I have addressed to the committee and subscribers for the erection of a new theater. A large number of very respectable individuals have approved in strong terms of the sentiments contained in them, and believe that they exhibit by no means an exaggerated statement of the evils which threaten us. A great majority of you, I trust, are of the same opinion.

The inhabitants of Boston have ever been known as attached to good order, sobriety, and morality. They are not an ignorant rabble to be lured by shows, while they are robbed of their richest treasures. The annual income of the Federal-street Theater is about $50,000, which, with hack hire, and other charges upon attendance, is a tax upon the city of at least $75,000. I say nothing of the expenses of those scenes which succeed the attendance. In this theater are every night assembled a company of women from the haunts of infamy, to pollute our youth and drag them away to their chambers of death. From the upper boxes and the pit issue exclamations fit only to be heard in hell; and which, if females otherwise delicate can learn to *hear* unmoved, I cannot *write* without pollution to my paper, nor without drawing upon myself a burst of indignation which I would not willingly bear. And we have another theater*—but I forbear lest I should rend again the paternal hearts of some of you which have not yet ceased to bleed, and bring up again to view your despoiled and ruined sons. Over this theater one individual, having possessed himself of a majority of shares, is able to exert an en-

* Schaffer's Garden, where several sons from most respectable families had then just been ruined.

tire control, and youth after youth is ruined for time and eternity; and all the benefit resulting is, that he gets his daily bread, and the owners of the property receive as rent three per cent. per annum. And is there no relief? Must the sons of the rich and daughters of the poor be bound, and almost in hecatombs lie bleeding victims upon the altars of Venus and Bacchus, and the horrid god, whatever be his name, who presides over the chances of the game?

And we are to have another theater upon a larger and more expensive scale. To support it, if it is to yield an income to the owners, cannot cost less than $75,000 annually. For the support of the two principal theaters, you are to be taxed then at least $150,000; and this is as nothing, in comparison with the immense moral damage you sustain. The shares in the contemplated theater are so owned, that a portion of them must at no distant period be sold, whether at a profit or a loss; and it would be no more than has already been done, if some one or two individuals should possess themselves of a major-ownership, and make it a den of wickedness which would cause its builders to shudder. The expenses of these establishments would support all your clergy, all your schools, your civil institutions, and I might also say, everything else, which is of public utility within the city. So cheap is virtue, so dear is vice. And for what is all this expenditure? Not to produce any moral good. You are too much enlightened to allow such a pretense to be made by you. Scarcely can it be said it is to amuse any of you. But a few of you attend, and those who do, a great portion of the time go away disgusted, not amused. Is not all this expense incurred that theater owners may gain an income upon their property, and that a company of dissipated players may gamble away your money, and in the indulgence of the lowest sensuality scatter it to all the winds as fast as you lay it before them. I do not speak of every actor. I speak of them as a class. Virtuous actors are exceptions to a general rule. What claims have Cook or Kean to twenty, thirty, or forty thousand dollars annually? Pardon me, fellow-citizens, if your indignation is roused at these statements of the truth. It is a case in which we are mutually and deeply interested; about which we have a right to confer together, and to confer freely. We are passengers on board a common ship. If I sound an alarm when there is no danger, heed me not; but remember, if we fall into the whirlpool, we go down together. In such a case as this, a heavy responsibility rests on every man. I have thrown off my share. I have warned the builders and notified the community. You cannot innocently fold your hands. He who sits by when a crime is perpetrated which

he might prevent, becomes an accessary. Express then, in all suitable ways, your firm disapprobation of this unwarrantable plan; and by your decision let the builders know, that if they persist, they may have the theater; but from the enlightened and virtuous citizens of Boston, they shall never have an audience, whatever may be the fascinations with which they shall attempt to lure you.—Look at your children, ye fathers and mothers,—which of them do you select for the seductions of the theater? Ye amiable and beautiful daughters, where is your sex humbled, where is disgrace poured upon woman, where are you insulted and yourselves treated as devoid of virtue, so much as at the theater? When you are alone, listen to the cries of the gallery and the inuendoes of the stage scarcely less offensive; and if blushes thicken on your faces, determine whether you will honor such scenes with your presence. Say whether you will place yourselves in the midst of indecency, that exhausted indulgence may gaze and see how you act, as the student gazes on the little animals in the exhausted receiver of his air pump. And ye young men, the hope of your parents and your country, is it not enough, that so many have already been destroyed? The trial through which you have to pass is indeed dreadful. I know what it is, for I have passed it. And to me the wonder is, not that so many are ruined, but that any escape. Place not yourselves amidst the thickest onsets of temptation. Look at many miserable beings a little older than yourselves, who at your age were as promising as you, had as much virtue, as firm sentiments, as good resolutions as you. You cannot, any better than they, walk on coals and your feet not be burned; nor put them in your bosom and your clothes not be consumed.

Here, fellow-citizens, I leave the subject to your cool reflections; and most respectfully subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,

A Father.

[Both the Federal-street and Tremont Theaters ceased years ago to be used as Theaters, and have been for most of the time since used as churches.]

PERMANENT FUNDS.

The following articles contain suggestions important alike to the officers of charitable institutions and the Christian public. The remarks upon the responsibility of such institutions to the public deserve to be seriously pondered. Mr. Hale's position with respect to colleges was misunderstood. He was not opposed to colleges; he was not even opposed to the founding of colleges as charitable institutions, though perhaps he did not realize to what extent a college must have charitable aid in order to exist. But his plan was to provide for a college only the necessary buildings and apparatus, and leave the instructors to be supported by the avails of teaching, or by the donations of the benevolent, stated or occasional, to meet any deficiency from that source. Such a system he thought would keep professors from becoming drones, and would keep the institution under the watchful sympathy of the good. He did not seem to consider how hard it would be to procure competent men to devote themselves to the work of instruction—thereby cutting themselves off from other pursuits—with an uncertain support. Mr. Hale did not make war upon colleges. One of his latest benefactions was the gift of five hundred dollars towards the fund which should place Bowdoin College under the control of Orthodox Congregationalists.

These articles are reprinted from the second number of his "Facts and Reasonings," with his own preface.

The following articles were written and published in the Boston Recorder in the year 1826. The American Education Society had then come out with the grand plan of obtaining scholarships, to an extent which should render the Society independent of popular contributions. The American Board of Commissioners, at about the same time, also made an effort to increase their

Permanent Funds, and that policy seemed to be coming into general popularity. I thought the policy fraught with danger, and wrote the following numbers in the hope of changing the opinions of my friends and brethren, who were leaders in the business, or at least of bringing the Christian public to a stand on the subject.

I do not know that they ever circulated beyond the limits of their first publication, nor can I claim that they had much to do in changing public opinion, but I am happy to know that, without much direct argument, the views which seemed then to me sound have come to be generally entertained, so that the policy of carrying on the great Christian charities by means of interest on permanent funds has been almost wholly laid aside. The popular contributions to the American Board have, in the mean time, quadrupled in amount. It is a matter of great regret that our literary institutions should so pursue the same policy of accumulating funds. Nothing can more certainly insure their apostasy from sound religion and even sound education.

I.

This is a new age of Christianity, an age of activity, to an extent and of a character to which the history of the Church furnishes no parallel. The success is also in some good degree proportioned to the zeal with which it is put forth. For carrying on the great work, all the moral and physical resources which can be controlled are put in requisition, and brought to bear in every possible form. Arts, sciences, politics, wealth, act in harmonious alliance. Institutions are established and combinations formed, from the primary and the Sabbath-school, to the well endowed College and Theological Seminary; from the little tract association of a country district, to the Bible Society, which grasps the world in its enterprises. Thus far, things have gone well in the main; and there is good reason to believe that wisdom has come down from on high, in answer to the humble prayers of Christians for guidance. Yet it may be, that in these grand efforts to promote the glory of God on earth, men will have to learn the folly of their own wisdom. Hitherto, no ruinous mistakes have occurred. Some efforts have come before the public upon a pretty large scale, which have not been successful, and afterwards it could be seen that they were badly planned. Yet no wide ruin has ensued. But in such great and novel plans of operation, going forward with such great success, it is safe to say, that sad reverses will ensue, unless great watchfulness is used. God will indeed grant wisdom when it is properly

sought; but this can hardly be expected upon those efforts, if there should be any, which go upon the basis of an independence of His constant support and protection. With the little sagacity which I possess, the feature of greatest danger in this country, is the propensity to establish everything upon the basis of *Permanent Funds*. And here I think I see a danger, which calls upon me to make known my apprehensions; a danger, which I fear threatens the overthrow of our benevolent institutions, and a religious reaction, as deadly to the present hopes of a lost world, as have been the recent mercantile permanent investments of capital to the pecuniary hopes of thousands.

My first position with regard to Permanent Funds is that they are fraught with great evils; and my second, that there is no good which they are expected to accomplish, which cannot quite as well be accomplished by annual or occasional donations.

The first danger which I will mention is *perversion*. An institution with a large amount of funds is always an object of desire to the great Adversary, and he will not rest till he can take possession of it for his own purposes, if he is permitted. If the soldiers of the Cross have erected a citadel of peculiar grandeur, whose ramparts are of precious stone, and whose weapons are of gold, the arch-fiend has so far, in almost every instance, contrived to gain possession of it by fraud, or seduction, or treachery, or violence, and to turn its guns upon its retreating soldiers. What rich institution, in any country, has held out against his attacks for a hundred years? Perhaps one or two can be mentioned, but in how much shorter time has he gained possession of all the others? In this young country institutions are not of course numerous, which have long been here: Cambridge College is the most prominent instance; and years ago did the enemy take possession there, and from its portals point the artillery, which soon brought the capital and all the surrounding country to subjection. Nor has he thought it beneath his notice to occupy small outposts; and to appropriate funds designed to support lectures upon the doctrines of grace, to the support indeed of lectures *upon* those doctrines, but whose effect is to cover them with contempt. What would Unitarianism ever have been in this region, but for the deposited funds of evangelical Christians? What colleges has it founded? What societies has it endowed? What churches has it built? No, it is chiefly by the sacrilegious robbery of consecrated funds, or by the crafty or forcible taking of consecrated houses, that it has been able to spread desolation over and around this metropolis, and establish a dominion here, which it costs an expenditure of

labor and treasure to overthrow, proportioned in extent to the largeness of our pious fathers' charities.

Under this head it is well to mention the danger of appropriations to the personal use of the usurpers; a calamity trifling indeed compared with the other. To these dangers are funds especially liable, which are held by societies organized in the common form. Around them no ditch is dug nor hedge built. Who compose the Society? Individuals who have paid each his pittance, a dollar, or perhaps five dollars; and of these, ten, twenty, sometimes fifty assemble at an annual meeting. Into the hands of this small number are resigned the commissions of its officers and the evidences of its property; and by its will are new officers appointed to fulfill all its pleasure. I know a society whose constitution requires the presence of twenty members to form a quorum, which has repeatedly been obliged to delay its business, and send out to individual members special and urgent requests for their presence. One hundred dollars would have made members enough to constitute a majority at any of its meetings; and yet this society had $25,000 permanent funds, and but for timely admonition, would have stood in the same defenseless state, with an addition of $50,000 more. It is not in the nature of things that bags of gold should lie thus by the way-side, and no one take them up. And though men of incorruptible integrity now have the control, it is certainly wise to guard against abuses which may prevail hereafter. I propose to consider some other dangers at a future time.

Quo.

II.

Another danger to Permanent Funds is that of loss by insufficient security in the investment. If the money is invested so as to yield a tolerable return of income, there must be no inconsiderable degree of insecurity. If the investment is in bank stock, the income will not exceed five or six per cent. per annum; and occasionally losses will occur which will prevent any dividends. But recent experience has taught the insecurity of banks even with a large capital; and the more any one knows of the management of them, the less will he think of their permanent stability. They are entirely dependent on the men who direct them; and are safe or otherwise, as they are prudent or adventurous. And scarcely any bank except that of the United States* has so large a capital, or is in any way so

* Subsequent events have shown that this exclusion was quite unnecessary.

situated as to be beyond the reach of an individual or a combination, who might wish to buy a major part of its stock, and make it an engine of speculation. If a bank fails, its bills may all be paid, and yet its *stock* not be worth a cent. If I am correctly informed, the stocks of the Eagle Bank at New Haven, in which were invested a very large amount of religious charitable funds, will never be worth a farthing, making a total shipwreck of the whole. The case of the American Board of Commissioners is still worse; for it appears from the proceedings of the last annual meeting, that the $4000 permanent fund lost by the Eagle Bank, is to be made good from current receipts. I do not question the right of the Board to make this appropriation of its income; but it is perfectly plain, that the current resources of the Board and their support to Missions, are lessened four thousand dollars. They are four thousand dollars *poorer* as to all present operations, than they would have been, had the Eagle Bank stock, or the money which bought it, never been given them. If anything is wanting to confirm this statement, I will make another proposition which may excite a smile, but which is yet obviously true. If these funds are always to remain, and the capital never to be used, then the *capital* will of necessity be lost; and so long as they are thus kept, and until the fund system is given up, so far and so long, that is precisely the effect produced. The stocks of the United States, and of the several States, may be more secure than banks, though liable to great fluctuations. But these are at prices which leave an income of only about four per cent. The money for current expenditure, if not for permanent funds, is drawn chiefly from men in active business, who at the same time are often borrowers. In all ordinary business discounts, the rate of interest is at least six per cent. So that the Christian who gives one thousand dollars to a permanent fund and hires so much more money to conduct his business, produces a loss of twenty dollars annually, besides the labor on both sides. The Society would be at least as well off were he to pay it forty dollars yearly, and retain the money in his business. Let then the capital remain where it is safely and profitably invested; and let the man who is willing to do as much as to give the principal, be trusted that he will pay the interest.

A circumstance which adds considerably to the danger of loss, is that the directors of Religious Charitable Societies, especially the most active, are clergymen. I know one Society with large funds, whose *active* directors are all clerical. And it is to their honor, that, occupied in their vocation, their minds cannot come

down to the calculations, which are essential to the security and productiveness of capital.

It is not that I fear the *loss* of these funds simply. If they cannot be brought into use, I could stand by and without a murmur see the half of them sunk in the ocean. But it is the moral effect which I fear. It is the closing up of the fountains of benevolence, which any great catastrophe in the loss of funds would be likely to produce. Quo.

III.

Another and most important danger from Permanent Funds is that they create an independence of the Christian public. I know that this is supposed to be an important *benefit*, resulting from the Funds, and in some instances at least it has been put foremost, that they will prevent constant solicitation.

But it will not be difficult to show, that if such a separation could be effected between all the societies and the public, the axe would be laid at the root of that tree of Christian benevolence whose healing leaves are beginning to be scattered to all the nations.

The injury would fall upon the societies and those who manage them, and in a most deadly manner upon the public. No one entertains a higher respect than I do for the men now at the head of our religious charities. They are, for the most part, the best of the pious, and the wisest of the learned. They are in the first rank of the Christian community. All the trust which ought to be reposed in *men* may be reposed in them. But the disinterestedness of the founders of societies is not to be looked for in their successors, when wealth has rendered that disinterestedness less important. It is the right time now when the proposing of principles cannot possibly be supposed to have any personal application, to establish those which are just. Prevention is much easier than cure. I ask, then, what would probably be the effect upon the character of an humble Christian, in moderate circumstances, were he elevated to a throne or even to a fortune. How many benevolent men have been rendered misers by a sudden accession of wealth! I say without hesitation, that, let the managers of these institutions be possessed of any supposable human character, they will conduct their affairs more honorably, more judiciously, and with more energy, if they rely upon the Christian public for support, than they will if rendered *independent* by Permanent Funds. These institutions belong to the public as much as a bank belongs to the holders of its stock; and equally are the public entitled to inspect all the

transactions of the agents. All material transactions touching the interests of the association, the officers are bound to lay before their owners, the public. While the public support these institutions this course is necessary; and if there is danger that the public will judge erroneously respecting any disclosure, the disclosure must yet be made, and the public are sure of the benefits also of a careful correction of those wrong statements, which may pervert their knowledge. But if there were no dependence on the public for funds, how easy it would be to conclude that it were better to retain the knowledge, and save the trouble of an explanation. This is but one item. Men who understand human nature can carry the discussion forward to other results, more speedily than I can write them. What I do, is but to set up the guide-posts on the road to perversion.

But far the most important and deadly effect would fall on the churches. Our vineyard has been dressed by the agents of charitable societies. To them are to be attributed as the instruments, its extension, its beauty, and its fruitfulness. Let them but withdraw, and soon it would be all grown over with thorns, and nettles would cover the face thereof. All the interest which is excited in themselves by activity; from the glow which is felt by the orator, when he puts forth all his powers upon his noble subject, to that which is produced in the heart of the humblest collector of a cent society by his efforts; all the animation which is excited in the minds of those who are addressed,—the pleasure of giving, with the interest which every one feels in an object to which he has contributed;—the animation of conjoint action in auxiliary societies;—a great part of the publications, and even the monthly concert itself, it is to be feared would have an end. Benevolence, when there was no longer any need of her alms, would cease her activity, and cease to pray. Her fire which has burned until the ascending volume of its flame has flashed to heaven, and sent gleams of light to the ends of the earth—would then go out, and a calculating dogmatism freeze up the soul. Never has religion flourished except when activity in keeping the Savior's command to evangelize the nations has been manifested in the Church. When they who were dispersed in the persecution which followed the death of Stephen went everywhere preaching the Word, then did Christianity go forth in her beauty and her strength; but when she became rich she became sickly in luxury and perished on the throne of Constantine. So it was in the great effort in which Luther led the way. The more we have to do in the cause of Christ, the more shall we love that cause. With nothing to do, the Christian could not keep alive the spark of holiness kindled

within him. This cup, then, of the blessing of contributing to the spread of the kingdom of our Master, let us not drink it at a draught, lest afterwards we perish with thirst. Here I feel constrained to quote from an article headed "Penuriousness of Charity," in the Recorder and Telegraph of October 27, written by one who well understood his subject. "It requires more expense of nerve and muscle and talent; more time and hard labor; more thought and plan; more activity and vigilance and perseverance; to procure money for the noblest of all objects which solicit human attention, than it does to procure the same sum from the commerce and business of the world."—"Look at the poor public servants of the Church, to whom is assigned the duty of soliciting the funds necessary to carry on the noblest enterprises of the age. They labor harder than you do." It is not in my power to gainsay these assertions. But if the American Board of Missions, to raise its last year's income, has expended by its officers, agents, and active friends, an amount of labor which otherwise employed would have earned $60,000, and other societies have done the same; then $200,000 worth of labor, guided by the best talents in our country, has been expended during the year, in keeping up and elevating the standard of Christian action. That spirit of Christian action is one of the greatest supports of vital religion in our churches. What then would become of us, if all of the societies were supported by Permanent Funds, and this vast amount of effort withdrawn? If thirty years' continued effort has been necessary to bring us where we are, half that time of inaction would float us back to the point whence we started. Quo.

IV.

The establishment of Funds is doing that now which belongs to the next generation. If it is a privilege to contribute to the advancement of the kingdom of our Redeemer on earth, (and I believe it to be one of the greatest which God has conferred on his people,) then why should our successors on the stage be deprived of their fair proportion? If, on the other hand, it is a labor and sacrifice, why should we burden ourselves not only with the share which is fairly our own, but deposit money to discharge the portion of those who follow us? The community of Christians for combined benevolent efforts is just coming into existence. And what infant community ever thought of paying the revenues of future generations? It is much more common and equitable too, that those who bear the burden and effort of the outset should leave some portion of the

expense contracted in purchasing the benefits which are handed down to posterity, to be paid by those who receive the greatest benefit. And is there any reason to doubt that the body of Christians of the next generation will be far more able and more willing to give money than the present? The efforts to obtain Permanent Funds lessen *present* receipts. The late Address of the American Education Society put this matter in its true light. They say, "It seems not to be understood so clearly as it should be, that the recent success in obtaining scholarships instead of providing *present* relief, is calculated rather to lessen the donations for current use." Here there is a society which within the quarter has received subscriptions for scholarships to about the sum of $50,000, whose whole permanent fund is nearly or quite $75,000, and yet according to the same Address, "the whole sum received at the treasury for *current use* during the last quarter was but four hundred dollars; six or seven times less than was necessary to meet its engagements to its beneficiaries." In how different a condition would this treasury have been if the late effort had been to raise money for present use! The late Mr. Woodman was one of the first to perceive the dangers which I have mentioned. He declined the application of the Society, yet exhibited his high sense of its excellence, by bequeathing to it $3,000—not to establish Woodman scholarships, but with the condition that the interest and fifteen per cent. of the principal should be annually expended. The American Education Society in 1819 found its funds very low, and laid its case before the public. So liberally was its call answered, that in addition to the supply of its then present wants, it had given it a permanent fund of over $10,000, and a surplus for current use amounting to $10,000 more, which $10,000 were added to the fund; a precaution of essential service, for when the receipts fall off, the money can at any time be transferred back to current use. Now, the Society would place its reliance on scholarships, which to be at all adequate to its great usefulness must amount to $500,000.

Funds prevent the constant solicitude about its present state which every society needs to retain in the minds of the community. How can a society, rich in stocks, bonds, and mortgages, come before the public and plead its poverty? And how can the public feel any anxiety about it, should its donations fall off or be discontinued for a time? Above all, when Christians are no longer solicited, and therefore cease to contribute to any given charity, they will in a great degree cease to pray for it. A danger so obvious and so overwhelming needs only to be stated. Let then those societies who believe that

their objects can be accomplished without the prayers of the Church, build themselves on Permanent Funds; but let those who feel their dependence on God, feel also some dependence on the Christian community.

Thus much for the *dangers* of Permanent Funds. In the next place, there is no possible good which cannot as well be accomplished without them. I appeal to Yale College as compared with Cambridge. Every association, to avoid embarrassment, needs wealth enough to possess its necessary fixed property free of debt—for instance, a college, its buildings, libraries, &c.; a Foreign Missionary Society, its printing presses, its missionary farms, buildings, &c., and spare capital enough to manage its publications and all its operations with facility. Cannot an association of men of high talents, furnished with all the buildings and machinery of a college, contrive with such advantages to obtain support? Nay will not such a college be likely to flourish in a far higher degree, where every professor knows that both his reputation and his living depend upon his efforts? As to the maintenance of mercantile credit, none but a Foreign Missionary Society needs such credit. And what merchant, if offered a bill on the London Missionary Society, would refuse to take it, on the ground that the society had no Funds? The wisdom and integrity of its directors, and its favor with the public, are sufficient guarantees for its solvency. And these must be the chief guarantees of every other benevolent society.

Some suppose, that although Funds have never been safe before, yet the present is an age so peculiar, so enlightened, that all reasoning from the past fails. They imagine that the lion has gone the length of his chain, that the bright millennial day is now dawning, and from this time all things will go well. Then surely there is no need of Permanent Funds. But what age of the Church has not been new and peculiar? In what one have Christians not supposed they possessed unusual light? There has already been one grand experiment upon permanent wealth to support religion. The monasteries and other rich establishments of the Roman Church have engrossed the wealth of nations. Many of these had their foundations laid in what was then considered an enlightened piety. To a vast extent the intentions of the donors were as pure as they are now. After the church had struggled out of the dangers of infidelity, who would not have thought them safe, at least on that hand? Yet the adversary took the same trap, put up a steeple in front of it, changed the dress of his decoys to a surplice and band, took the sword from their hands, and gave each a Bible, and his success has been great, at least among *us*. Wordly alliances have

always been ruinous, but confidence in the Lord has never been disappointed. The great and only secure source of revenue to the Church is her own elevated and enlightened piety. This is a mighty fund from which all our societies may draw:—a fund which cannot be lost nor perverted.

If it is thought that the solicitations of the great number of societies will clash with each other, the reply is, there may be need of system and concert among them, but if the solicitations are for good objects, and well directed, we shall not be injured by their frequency.

My remarks have been made chiefly against *large* funds. But they will apply also to smaller ones, though with diminished importance. On the subject of *parish* funds, I would remark that in the neighborhood of Boston they are well understood. A few churches yet possess them, and in some instances, I know that their best men consider them a heavy burden, which, if they could, they would gladly throw off; other churches who in their journey through the desert, had they been poor, might have traveled unmolested, have, because they had money about them, fallen among thieves, who stripped them and wounded them and left them half dead. But oil has been poured into their wounds; and being relieved of their burden, they have gone on their way with lighter steps, singing songs of deliverance.

It is said that money can be obtained for Permanent Funds, which otherwise could not be had at all; therefore the amount is clear gain. If this is true, it is in a great degree the consequence of an impression which Christians have had, that Permanent Funds constituted the most important weight in the scale of usefulness. The instructions have been wrong, and it would be strange if no wrong practice followed. But it is supposed that money can be obtained for funds payable at the decease of the benefactor or at some other future period, and the interest be obtained in the mean time, and thus constitute at once an efficient permanent fund. And it can be obtained by the same process for present use. If money is wanted faster than the community choose to pay it down, then bonds can be taken payable at a future time; which bonds, so far as they are good security, will be cashed at the outset by others whose property is in money, and who live on its income. No loss will ensue from this negotiation, but practically a great profit. For although the annual interest will not be brought in upon money, the capital will be invested in well educated ministers of the gospel, the heathen educated and converted to righteousness, and churches founded and strengthened; and from such an investment will return a double usury in cash, and one tenfold in

piety and knowledge. Let us contemplate the difference in the two modes of operation. Suppose $500 to be the sum. Call it equal to the education of one indigent but pious youth for the ministry. Let it be at once expended. It will produce an effect equal, in the whole, to the education of this youth, in one year. Let another $500 be made a permanent fund. With interest at the rate of six per cent. it will produce the same effect in seventeen years. The one laborer goes into the field sixteen years before the other, and all he has to do to equal the permanent fund, supposing he dies in sixteen years, is to prepare another man to fill his place. To be sure, his successor would have just double the work to do; for the man produced by the fund, and who starts with him in the year 1843, will upon the same scale of effort, have brought forward his successor in 1860, and the permanent fund will at the same time produce another. It is impossible to state such a calculation, without showing the entire impotency of Permanent Funds.

But what would be the real facts resulting from an immediate expenditure? Is it probable that he who goes at once to his work will do less than raise $60 *annually* for charitable purposes? Here is twelve per cent. interest on the permanent fund in *cash*. Will he do less for his fellow-men, than to be instrumental in the salvation of one annually, and of bringing forward in the whole time two, as ministers of salvation? What an odds! While, therefore, the heathen are perishing and our own country is desolated for want of *present* help, and while God is so abundantly adding his blessing on our efforts, let us not under circumstances which cry so impressively "*now* is the accepted time," busy ourselves in laying up heaps of money which ought to be scattered to the ends of the earth, foolishly calculating how smoothly things will go on in distant years. Does not the blight which God has sent on Permanent Funds instruct us that our confidence should be in Him? Let then the contributions of Christians be increased. Let their benevolence flow in a deeper and broader stream, not to fill stagnant pools, but to fertilize the earth. Let our charities be enlarged, and let them be invested, not in banks and stocks, but in men and morals; not in farms of earthly tillage, but in portions of earth's moral desert transformed into the gardens of the Lord.

I have accomplished my purpose if these humble essays have awakened inquiry and reflection. Quo.

PERMANENT FUNDS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August 19th*, 1833.]

The controversies which are continually arising in religious societies of different names, as to the disposition of Permanent Funds which have been left to them by benevolent individuals, constitute a powerful argument against the desirableness of such funds, even if there were no other objections to be urged against them. But there *are* other objections, of so serious a nature, that many of the principal religious societies of the day, such as Bible, Missionary, and Tract Associations, have become decidedly adverse to the possession of Permanent Funds at all. One objection is, the suspicion to which they give rise in the minds of persons not cordially in favor of such institutions, that these funds will be used in some way or other for sinister purposes; and another is the feeling which is apt to prevail among those who take an interest in the institutions, that being in possession of so much money, (and rumor generally magnifies the amount at least ten-fold, and sometimes a hundred-fold,) they cannot need the contributions of individuals, or at any rate that the demand for such contributions must be extremely small. In more private associations, such as churches and congregations, there are objections of a different nature—though perhaps applicable in some degree to the societies above-mentioned. Experience proves that the support of public worship on the part of the congregation, by their own personal contributions, is a healthful exercise in itself, and more favorable to the welfare of the congregation, as well as to the moral benefit of individuals, than if all expenses were paid by an unknown hand. Money is a dangerous thing in the hands of religious societies,—dangerous, we mean, to the societies themselves, and the individuals composing them. It is therefore with little pleasure that we hear of bequests made to such societies, to be kept as permanent funds. If people have the heart to make donations or bequests to good objects, we congratulate them on the disposition and the ability; but in our estimation, they had much better give for immediate use, than for posterity, to say nothing of the hazard of perversion, and of laying a foundation for future collisions and controversies. In these days, there are so many opportunities of doing good in one form or another of benevolent effort, that money applied to such objects is worth more than six per cent.; or in other words, moral influence, judiciously exerted, will yield a larger increase than money lying at interest. Beside; if the world is growing wiser and better, as we hope it is, posterity will be as able to do its appropriate work in this respect, as we are to do ours.

LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, December* 4, 1841.]

THE usefulness of institutions depends very much upon the principles of their structure; and the character of a people depends very much upon the character of their institutions. In every country there are powerful tendencies always at work to misshape its institutions. A young nation like ours, started by an intelligent people, with the old world lying before them for their contemplation, has superior advantages for rearing its institutions in the best manner. Many of the principles upon which the institutions of the old world are planted, we reject. We think the Hindoos exceedingly debased, because they refuse all literature to females; and yet many persons among us are perhaps just as unreasonable as the Hindoos in their views upon the same subject. Our countrymen praise liberty, yet we have had a great national convulsion from an effort to bring in governmental power to drive the citizens from their free choice of the various occupations before them. We reject an alliance of the Church with the State, and yet perhaps are just as much in error about some other alliances which are deemed quite indispensable. We have concluded that religion should have no other support from the laws than simple protection, and yet we hold on to an alliance of the State with education, which perhaps may finally turn out to be a mistake of the same nature with the one we reject. We do not say it is so, but in the quarrels about common schools which exist in so many places, this fundamental inquiry will force itself into notice. Besides, we have a great system of Sunday-school education, which has no State support, and which is yet incomparably more efficient in reaching the wants of ignorance, than any of the State systems of public education.

It has come to be generally admitted that wealth is the parent of vice, indolence, inefficiency and misery; yet almost all parents desire to leave their children in just this dangerous condition. It is admitted that in all enterprises, riches take away the energy of men, and that the Christian religion has never prospered under their influence; and yet our good men are constantly endowing their churches, and colleges, and theological seminaries, with riches. There is no such certain way to unnerve an energetic man, as to let him know that he has a sure and ample income for life; and yet, whenever a new professorship is to be added to a college, the first thing to be done is, to collect so much money that the interest of it will secure the incumbent's salary, whether he labors or is idle. A rich church is almost of course an inefficient, useless church. A rich college is the same thing. Then why should

men waste their money, and worse than waste it, by giving it to destroy the institutions they most approve? Simple, uncorrupted truth on moral and religious subjects can hardly be preserved in more wealth than a competency. We speak of associations, not individuals. The condition of the world calls for all the money of the charitable to relieve its present wants, and yet there are many who will try to hoard up their money for the next generation, by leaving it in stocks, which, however, are very likely to correct the mistake of the donor by coming to nothing in the hands of the endowed institutions.

The truth is, that personal energy is the thing which reforms the world, and converts the wilderness into fruitful fields. Money is convenient, but not half as necessary as is commonly supposed. It greases the wheels, but will never draw the load. The world may be corrupted by money. Men may be brought to vice, but not to virtue by it. What reason is there in endowing a college, beyond the mere purchase of an establishment? Men in the ordinary pursuits of life must furnish themselves with shops and tools. If a company of educated men, with a shop and tools furnished to them without cost, cannot earn their own living, they ought to starve. Schools of all sorts are made to flourish by the individual enterprise of their teachers, with all the charges of rent and apparatus upon them. The Rutgers Female Institute, in this city, is a matter of private though benevolent speculation. The income of the teachers depends on the prosperity of the school; and so great is its prosperity, that it has nearly five hundred scholars, who have the amplest means of instruction. Everything is managed upon a most liberal scale, and yet the stockholders get six per cent. for their money. If some rich man should take such a fancy to this flourishing institution as to give it a hundred thousand dollars, it would probably be a blow on the head which would paralyze all its energy. There is a similar institution at Albany, which is in a similar state of prosperity, and has been for years. There are many other equally prosperous, money-making schools, we are happy to say, scattered over our country. The institution at Oberlin is a striking example. Its professors earn their living by their labor, and depend entirely on the success of their enterprise. It has been attacked and rendered odious on all sides, and yet the energy of its professors has raised it to six hundred students, and the number would be larger had the faculty the means of erecting more buildings. If this place is the hotbed of error, as is represented, and about this it is not our business to determine, then we say, it is giving truth no fair chance to furnish it only with richly-endowed institutions, with which to carry on the war. If such

men would do good with their money, let them spend it freely in relieving the present wants of the present generation. The best guarantee for the future is the rectitude of the present. But if you have a son you love, a church, a college, a seminary of any sort, on which your affections are fixed, do not make them rich.

MISTAKEN EFFORTS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, December* 21, 1841.]

THERE are a great many things done in this world from the most charitable motives, which had better not be done. Sacrifices are often made, and great zeal displayed, for the accomplishment of bad ends, and *that* with the very best intentions. The charity bestowed upon street beggars is almost all of it positively injurious; and a very large proportion of the money expended upon the poor in other ways is worse than thrown away. A great deal of money has been raised to endow professorships and scholarships in colleges and other seminaries, when the interests of religion and learning would have been better served without such endowments. In fact, a large part of the charitable efforts which have been made, to establish academies and colleges for the purpose of educating students gratuitously, or at half price, are of very questionable utility. Teaching is pursued as a business by a great number of persons, and no seminaries are likely to be conducted so efficiently as those which are conducted with a view to individual profit. In cities, and in fact, all over the country, there are, and will be, very many persons who cannot afford to educate their children, or who do not value education as they ought, for whom the benevolence of others must provide. But with the great mass of our people it is not so. In this city there are numerous private schools, extending to all branches of education. Suppose some Girard should bestow five millions of dollars for the establishment of schools among us where all things should be taught *gratuitously*. If the charity should succeed perfectly, all the private schools would be broken up, and those who conduct them deprived of their means of living, and no good would be accomplished to the cause of education. We have now colleges more than enough. Suppose some man should establish colleges, or some State should found them, with such ample endowments that students would not only be taught, but boarded gratuitously. It would perhaps be hailed as a magnificent act of generosity, but it would do a great deal of mischief and very little good. Our colleges are now in a great strife for

students, and the strife is carried on by underbidding in prices. In order that a college may be able to draw students to itself by underbidding, it must be largely endowed. The expenses of the establishment must be paid in some other way than by tuition fees. The competition can never be satisfied. The colleges may be endowed until education is free, and until students are hired to go to college, and yet no point will be reached where the cry will not still be, "Give, give." If an opposite course were pursued, private enterprise would be fostered. If benevolence were stopped at what we are sure is the farthest bounds of usefulness, viz. furnishing of buildings and apparatus, leaving the faculties to get their living by their faithfulness, there would then be a basis of calculation. As we go now, private schools are destroyed by public schools, and public schools by each other, and yet those least useful are perhaps as much supported as the rest, by the munificence of individuals or the public.

These remarks are applicable to the newspaper press and other modes of circulating intelligence. If a great society could be formed for the purpose of printing newspapers, or some benevolent individual were to bequeath ten millions of dollars for the purpose of printing a daily newspaper in the city of New York, to be distributed gratuitously for half its cost forever, it might seem at first blush a splendid plan of benevolence; but the effect would be extremely unfair towards those now engaged in supplying the community with newspapers, and the public would on the whole, and in the long run, be great losers. Such an overshadowing establishment might, at a heavy loss of money to itself, prevent other editors from earning their bread, but it could never serve the public so usefully as they are served by private enterprise. Charitable societies and endowed institutions always work at a loss. In their very construction they are inert and extravagant. They should not, therefore, be formed for ends which can be accomplished by private effort. Benevolence extended in such ways cripples the enterprise which would best accomplish the end, and leaves the designs of goodness more poorly accomplished than if nothing had been done.

Views like these, we are sure, ought to be more deeply pondered than they have been. It is of great importance that the institutions of our country should be so formed as to retain their vigor from age to age. If they are to do so, then they must have a large infusion of individual enterprise and individual interest. Free trade is good in other matters besides buying and selling. This country has tried it in its religious institutions, and is reaping a rich harvest of blessings in consequence. There is more in the same plan for all sorts of doing good, than has generally been supposed.

COLLEGES AND COLLEGE FUNDS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, December* 18, 1846.]

THE Rev. Thomas Spencer of England, who, though a churchman, is a noble defender of free principles, in his admirable tract entitled "The People's Rights and how to Get them," writes as follows :—

"The rights of property are invaded by ecclesiastical, educational, and charitable endowments, which not only become prolific sources of corruption, but actually derive their value from the industry of a future day, and are therefore a tax upon all other property. An estate, for instance, which has been left to a Grammar School, and which, when the testator made his will, was worth £10 a year, but which is now worth £5000 a year, derives its chief value from those who have built upon and improved it, who are thus made to give the produce of their labor to an endowment over which they have no control. It is high time for the world to throw off the dominion of the dead; and to place the land under the entire management of the living. The rights of property will allow a man to sell, give, or bequeath his property to another, but not to tie it up throughout perpetual generations. By endowment and by the law of primogeniture, the living are not only governed by the acts of the dead, but by such acts as those dead, if now alive, would be the last to sanction. They whose only object was to push forward their fellow-creatures are now the means of keeping them back; and the most enlightened men of former days are now, in this age of science and discoveries, made the dispensers of heathen mythology and a useless smattering of Latin and Greek. These endowments ought to be taken by the State, and, with the least possible injury to the present possessors, appropriated to the payment of the National Debt. A public school, with an endowment of £20,000 a year, originally intended for the education of the poor in the most useful learning that could be got, but now appropriated to the giving of a most imperfect education to the sons of the rich, is a disgrace to our land."

These are thoughts worthy of the most serious consideration. There are great truths in them. This we may say without stopping to endorse everything precisely as it stands. Men, and good men, have almost with one consent rejected the simple plan of Jesus Christ. They fear liberty and the control of the people, and go about to establish knowledge and religion by ecclesiastical inclosures and pecuniary emoluments. But in these plans they have always been disappointed, and always will be. The hierarchy of the dark ages had its foundations laid in this way, and now, in our young country, where pure religion and learning might be handed down to the latest posterity, even good men seem deaf to all the lessons of experience, and are exposing our institutions to the same ruin. The two great sources of the overthrow of pure Christianity and sound learning in past times, were ecclesiastical organizations and pecuniary endow-

ments. We intend now to speak chiefly of the latter, and as connected with literature. Religion has been severed from the State in this country, but learning is bound to it still. We are not ready to say that this is wrong, yet it would be a revolution no more strange than the other, if the help of the State in learning should one day be deemed as great a hinderance, as in matters of religion. The world has hardly had an exhibition of what liberty without the State will do for learning. In the British colony of South Australia there is a specimen worthy of much contemplation. That colony was commenced some ten years ago, upon a plan of very unusual liberty. The Government of Great Britain merely guaranteed to the emigrants that they should govern themselves, and that no convicts should be sent there. Freedom of trade, education, and religion, prevail there. Neither the home government nor that established by the colonists has done anything for the patronage of religion and learning. Yet the population, the commerce, and the wealth of the colony have rapidly increased, and although such colonists must have been comparatively poor, they have everywhere provided themselves with schools and churches, with remarkable promptness; so that in these respects they are probably as well off as the mother country. A paragraph in the letter of our London correspondent of October 30th contains some statistics showing the wonderfully rapid growth of this free people. The bishop sent to superintend the Episcopal Church in New Holland was struck with the religious energy of the colonists of South Australia, but complained that they wasted their strength in building many small churches of various denominations, instead of uniting in one or two large enterprises. These colonists are in a fair way to rank high in their religious and literary character, and this without governmental interference with either. We will add, that the Sabbath-schools, wherever they exist, are the best schools which exist, and drop this point of inquiry.

If it is necessary that colleges should be charity institutions, it does not follow that they should be sustained by funds drawing six per cent. interest, rather than by yearly contributions; nor that they should be so multiplied as to destroy each other. We have arrived at a position in both these respects, which calls upon us to stop and inquire whether we are going right. Every generation owes important obligations to the next, and one of these obligations is, to see that the next generation is free. We are not at liberty to embarrass their struggle for the maintenance of sound learning and sound religion. If we make rich colleges or churches which will be independent of the next

generation, we run the hazard of greatly increasing their burdens. We do not mean to say whether Orthodoxy or Unitarianism be the truth, but taking the opinions of Harvard and the other founders of that College as the opinions which they deemed of the utmost importance, had they a right to distrust their posterity, and by their donations of large funds, place that College beyond the control of future generations, and so render the labor of maintaining the opinions of the founders of that College by those who should believe them afterwards, so much more difficult? Had Harvard and his pious associates and successors a right to throw so vast a burden as this upon their posterity who should believe with themselves? Certainly they had no such right. With their views of truth, they were bound to leave posterity free to act, without such an incumbrance. Again, and without saying who is right, but only that every man is bound to support what he holds to be important truth, we may ask whether Queen Anne, who gave a great farm to Trinity Church in olden times, worth millions now, treated this generation fairly when she gave that property to control the Episcopal Church, as it does in these days, and blight our city of living men with its interminable leases. We could name other examples where the goodness and pious liberality of the generations gone by, have entailed insuperable burdens upon the men who hold the same opinions in this generation. Everybody can see, that however charitable and worthy the individuals were who made these donations, and though their good intentions may have their reward, it is not the less true that their charity was great unfairness toward the present generation. If *this* generation endow Yale or Amherst, or the Methodist College at Middletown, or the Episcopal College at Hartford, to such an extent that they can go on and prosper though they become thoroughly revolutionized in their opinions, and though future generations withdraw from them, it will be doubly guilty, because acting under the light of an experience which Harvard and his cotemporaries did not enjoy. The earth belongs to the living, unembarrassed by the entailments of the dead; and truth will always be best promoted by leaving its care for the future to "God, and the people" whom He shall have on the earth. The founders of our institutions believed this, and secured inestimable benefits by prohibiting primogenitures or entailments of estates in any form. But their prohibitions do not reach corporations, who, as they never die, hold their estates in perpetual entailment.

Although colleges are important, their undue multiplication is a great misfortune. If there are too many, the cost is too great, both of men and treasure, and yet all are feeble. Colleges claim

the best talents for their instruction. Each one must withdraw some half dozen or whole dozen of the best ministers or other men of learning and usefulness, and shut them up to teaching. If half a dozen men of first-rate powers of usefulness are shut up to the education of fifty or a hundred boys, when those boys might just about as well be added to the classes of another college, it is a most improvident and culpable waste of good things. If good men contribute their funds to build useless colleges, and support their professors, they do mischief thereby, and had better throw their money into the sea. There is no danger of too much religion or knowledge, nor of too much instruction in either. But there is great danger from institutions, whether literary or religious, if placed above the control of the living age. Such institutions have ever been the bane of society. Europe is covered with institutions founded and enriched by the good intentions of past ages, to be putrid sores in this. Our own country is young, and should render her youth perpetual. But the policy which we reprobate, is already enfeebling us, and inflicting at least some small taint upon us of European decrepitude. The covering was a little raised from Harvard, and we saw the corruption of sinecure professors, paid a hundred dollars an hour for their services. It was only with the help of peculiar circumstances, that Mr. Bancroft, standing high as he did among the literary men of the East, was able, with his compatriots, to lift the covering so much;—and how very few, if any, of the corruptions of that institution have been or can be remedied! Avowed opponents can do nothing in such a case, for they cannot obtain the necessary information; and if they could, are easily discredited. Friends only can do the faithful work, and how scarce are friends who will immolate themselves on such an altar!

THE STATE AND THE COLLEGES.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April* 29, 1848.]

THERE are two ways of being unsectarian: one is to include all sects in government favors, and the other is to exclude them all. The latter course is easily adjusted; the former is exceedingly difficult of adjustment. The government of our State and those of most of the other States have adopted the doctrine that the State is bound to educate the children of the people. In carrying out this doctrine, they have now and then come upon unexpected difficulties; but never seem to have thought seriously that

the origin of these difficulties was the adoption of a *wrong principle*. Our common schools, having been in general constructed as public schools, are free, as far as possible, from denominational characteristics. But the colleges are *all sectarian* institutions. They are the great schools for preachers, where young men are expected to be trained to certain religious views, that they may become preachers of those views. They are in truth the strongholds of denominations; yet, having a prominent literary character, they are, as literary institutions, taken under State patronage. At the last session of the Legislature the Catholics for the first time presented their claim to participate in the State bounty. The claim was unquestionably good upon the plan heretofore pursued, and a Legislature altogether Protestant was obliged, in plain justice, to put Fordham in with the rest. It was a noble piece of adherence to equal and impartial justice. These Protestants could not plead, as Catholics do when in power, that theirs is the only *true* Church, and all others heretics; and that therefore the latter *ought* not only to be excluded from patronage, but prevented by all possible means from propagating their pestiferous doctrines. Protestants acknowledge the equality of men in their right to determine, each one for himself, what is his duty to his Creator. The State must continue to support Fordham or abandon the colleges to their friends. There is no other possible alternative which can be adopted with honor. We hope the Legislature will see that they have committed a great error in distributing the funds of the State to colleges at all; and will extricate themselves from the difficulty by making no more such grants. Not for the sake of ridding themselves of Fordham, but because the whole policy is unsound and injurious.

While scorning the doctrines of Fourier, under the precise forms in which his disciples seek to put them in practice, we have failed to see that they are, after all, only the established principles of our government, developed in a different shape. We acknowledge the obligation of the State to feed and educate all who throw themselves upon it for these purposes, or even neglect to provide for themselves. But passing over the Fourier question, it seems to us plain, that whatever may have been proper in the infancy of the country, colleges ought no longer to be objects of State patronage—at least those in the older States. The denominations are able and willing to take care of their own colleges. There are too many colleges, and there will be too many even without State patronage. The expectation of patronage from the State will stimulate new colleges into a useless existence, for the benefit of villages and sects or fractions of sects, and embarrass legislation by multiplied applications, and all to the damage rather

than advancement of knowledge. By the process of private bequests, some of our colleges are already becoming too rich. We are getting so much wealth in our country, that many persons need legatees, and the colleges are often selected by testators. They generally adopt the system of piling up money in what is called "foundations" for professorships, which foundations are just the most efficient opiates for the professors who stand upon them. It is already apparent that our richest colleges are least useful, and that if we would preserve their efficiency, they must be kept in alliance with that great middle class in which lies the great strength of every people.

SLAVERY; COLONIZATION; ABOLITION.

THOUGH the controversy to which these articles relate is nearly obsolete, it has been thought best to collect them as a matter of history, and an illustration of the spirit of the discussion. They have been selected not with reference to the views or preferences of the Editor, but in order fairly to present the opinions of Mr. Hale on a subject in which he ever felt a deep interest.

COLONIZATION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 15, 1834.]

THE citizens of New York, and of the country round about, have recently been awakened by the warm discussions which have been going on on the subject of Colonization. The colonization of the people of color of the United States was a thought which originated in some benevolent minds, perhaps twenty years ago.

In the anxious inquiry, "What shall be done for our country and the colored population in it?" they discovered that there was *one* thing which could be done, and that one thing was

to provide some place beyond the reach of slavery and its associations of degradation, and assist as many free colored persons to remove there as *desired* to go. In this it was found that philanthropists of the North and South could act harmoniously, and so create a bond of union out of a subject which had threatened disunion. The most intelligent agents were dispatched to Africa, who fixed upon a certain point of the coast, made negotiations with the native chiefs, secured the requisite territory, and made preparations for a settlement.

From that time to this, colored persons have been found desirous of removing to Africa in larger numbers than the funds of the charitable could carry. So that now the colony consists of three thousand persons, stretching along in various settlements upon the coast for more than a hundred miles. The business has chiefly been conducted under the auspices of "The American Colonization Society;" an association composed of a large number of the most distinguished men in all parts of the country, having its central point at the seat of government. In the colony, schools are established, churches erected, and a well organized society is forming. The natives of the neighborhood, attracted by the superior condition of the colonists, are asking for teachers, and offering whatever inducements they can, to procure for themselves the advantages which they see in the colony. The slave trade along that part of the coast has been, by the efforts of the colonists, effectually suppressed. By the operations of the society the attention of the American people has been in a degree kept upon the blacks and their condition, and a kind spirit towards them has been cherished and strengthened.

We know that these details will seem trite to those who for years have been looking at the movements of the Colonizationists. But we have within a few days past met with several persons of intelligence whose attention has just been aroused by the din of the last few days' conflict, but who understand little or nothing of the ground of the contest. It is for their benefit we have given this bird's-eye glance of Colonization. It has but *one* principle; it does but *one* thing, and that one thing is *the colonizing of free people of color with their own consent.* Other good things have followed as effects, some of which we have mentioned above, and some of its friends believe it tends strongly to bring about, in a peaceful and quiet way, the total abolition of slavery. But with all such matters, the condition of the slaves, their rights and everything else of this sort, the society does not interfere. The broad field is left open for other individuals, or for the same individuals

if they please, to occupy as may suit their respective opinions. The ONE thing we have mentioned of the society is its unit, and its whole account.

Such a plan of benevolence, it would seem, must commend itself to the good wishes, or at least disarm the opposition, of all men. Yet within a few years past, under the claim of extra love for the blacks, there has sprung up an organized war upon Colonization, carried on with a spirit of violence rarely exceeded. Those who have engaged in this strange attack are some of them men of benevolence and high respectability in the community. Yet to such a hight has the war been carried, that many of the measures taken have seemed to us far enough from such as ought to characterize honorable conflicts. For the last year or two it has been carried on with so much success, at least in the opinion of its abettors, that at their anniversary last week, when all things were going on gloriously, one of their number, a man too of great excellence of character, proclaimed to the audience that they had assembled "to toll the death-knell and attend the funeral obsequies of the American Colonization Society." In the early part of this war the Colonization Society contented itself with acting on the defensive; but its friends have at last been driven to take the field, and have, during the last few days, not only made their principles understood, and vindicated themselves before admiring crowds, but have carried the war into the camp of their opponents until the necessity for a winding-sheet has well-nigh passed to the other side, and Colonization is almost in danger of being compelled to perform the last kind offices for its lately exulting foe. Public sentiment is aroused. Colonization has gained a degree of attention which it could never before excite. Its objects are understood and appreciated, and will be supported by increasing multitudes of our citizens, while the furious and unfair efforts of self-styled Abolitionists are looked upon, to use a mild term, with general disapprobation.

If Abolitionists can do anything for the blacks, and for our country in reference to them, *besides* that which is doing by Colonization, let them do it. They will have the hearty coöperation of all good men. But if they dash against Colonization, they will find it a rock.

"FUNERAL" EXPENSES.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, June* 6, 1835.]

Moses Allen, Esq., Treasurer of the New York Colonization Society, has received in cash since the 1st of May, and chiefly within the last few days, over FOUR THOUSAND DOLLARS. The friends of Colonization, having heard that their cause had fallen among slanderers, who undertook to strip off its beauty, and then stabbed it with weapons, leaving it for dead, have made a contribution, that whatever decency required, might be done.

LIBERIA FACTS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 3, 1834.]

We have had considerable opportunity to converse with Messrs. Temple and Jones, who have just returned from Liberia. Their conversation has interested us, and will we presume interest our readers; though to such as are very familiarly acquainted with the affairs of the colony, it may not afford any great addition to their stock of information. Temple is a man of sprightliness and ardor. He is not yet recovered from the indisposition which so far deranged his reason, as for the time to make him write helter-skelter letters, which afforded glorious pickings for the Abolitionists; though we know that some of them suspected, at the time, that the writer was not of sane mind, and one of their editors had conscience enough to refrain from publishing them on account of the distinct marks of aberration which they bore. Jones was sent out by a Colonization Society of Kentucky, and sailed with a detachment collected in that State, in the latter part of 1832. He is a man of apparent coolness, of good sense, discrimination, and piety. His manner is such as to fix upon him the confidence of those who hear him. Both are black men of more than ordinary education and talents. Jones was ten months in the colony, and visited all parts of it. Temple was there but about four months. They say the soil of Liberia is excellent. Jones is acquainted with the choice lands in the heart of Kentucky, and says he thinks the soil of Liberia equally excellent, though he saw some lands there which he considers better than any which he ever saw in Kentucky. The land is, some of it, open and covered with high grass, but in general it is wooded with heavy trees. Coffee, cotton, and rice are indigenous, and grow well; but in order that they should produce profitably, they must there, as everywhere, be regularly cultivated. Cotton does not there, as in this country, require to

be planted annually, but blooms and bolls the year round, and from year to year. Coffee trees bear freely four or five years after planting. Jones saw some trees picked, which yielded abundantly. The natives are good laborers, and contented with very low wages—not over twenty-five cents a day. With their help, it would be easy to cultivate coffee, rice, and cotton, to any extent, and with ample profit. Plantains and bananas grow freely. The low lands bear pineapples abundantly, and various other delicious fruits are in great profusion.

The climate is pleasant, and to those who are acclimated, healthy. Many of the natives live to a great age, and several of the colonists were heard to say that their health was much better than in America. All who go from this country are, after a few days or weeks, attacked with fever and ague, which prostrates them for a considerable time, and proves fatal in many cases, especially where there is indiscretion on the part of the patients, or want of comfortable accommodations. This fever resembles that which attacks emigrants to many parts of the western wilds in our own country, though generally more severe, yet much less severe than the seasoning which slaves go through, who are removed from the high lands to Georgia and South Carolina. It is much more injurious to white persons than to black. It is believed that the Cape Mount territory will prove more healthy than the country about Monrovia, though against the latter there is nothing to allege but the seasoning fever. This fever the inhabitants say all the native children have when quite young.

There are plenty of fish in the sea and rivers, and at Junk fine oysters.

The occupations of the colonists have been trading, agriculture, and such mechanic occupations as are connected with building, and the other wants of a new people. A great many are traders, pressing their establishments back into the interior in pursuit of camwood, ivory, gold dust, palm oil, &c. A considerable number have become wealthy. Those who have set themselves to the cultivation of their lots have found that the surest if not the shortest way to comfort. Some of the traders say they intend to turn their attention more to agriculture hereafter. There are also in the colony quite too large a number of emigrants who have not adopted any settled pursuits, but who depend on jobs and day labor for a support. These find little encouragement, as the natives are better and cheaper laborers. Mechanics are liberally paid. The farmers, if we may call them such, in the neighborhood of Monrovia find a very good business in supplying that market. The recaptured Ebos and Congos, who inhabit New Georgia, exhibit the best specimens of agricul

tural success, though even there but a few acres from each lot are yet cleared and brought under tillage.

All the towns have churches and school-houses. The churches are well supplied with colored preachers, and are attended, and the Sabbath observed, as well and better than in New York.

The sober and industrious, and especially the religious part of the colonists are contented and happy. Many of them expressed in the warmest manner their gratitude for such a place of refuge, and declared that nothing would tempt them to return to the United States. They said that, let the laws here be what they might, they had much rather live in Liberia. On the contrary, those who are indolent and vicious, and those who went out under the notion that they should be ladies and gentlemen, and who expected to live in the emphatic freedom which the negroes, so many of them, think the only freedom worth having, viz., freedom from work—all such persons are disappointed, and find fault with the colony, when in fact the only difficulty is in themselves.

The colonists are, too many of them, fond of show and style, and making a dash and living in idleness, in short, of being negroes, and almost all are intent on their own pursuits, and attend but little to the maintenance of law and order, and the advancement of the public good. There is great want of men well educated, men of good habits and public spirit. The colony could very well afford to give two *loafers* for one good citizen.

Spirituous liquors are sold at the shops as freely as in the towns of the United States, and produce similar effects on the population. There are more or less feuds and quarrels among the people, but Jones' illustration of their extent was a little humiliating, for he said he thought there were less of such scenes than among the white people here; and this, without having been a witness to our spring election.

Both Temple and Jones say, Liberia is the place for them, their friends and their children, and that they intend to return speedily with as many as will accompany them, and spend their lives there.

From all this we judge that Liberia is not far from what a man of sense would have expected it to be. The expectations of such a man we think would be fully equaled. Those who demand that in the construction of such a colony there should be nothing wrong, no mismanagement, no vices, no selfishness, indeed, that liberated slaves should constitute a more perfect community than was ever seen on the earth, and that the enterprise should be carried on with a degree of wisdom and success

never before known, such persons, like a portion of the colonists which we have mentioned, find abundant cause of complaint. There is there the selfishness, and quite too much of the decided vice, which dishonor all communities. The colonists are much more intent on their own affairs than on those of the public. In this they have nc special superiority over the citizens of our own happy land. The institutions of society are never built, nor do they rest, after all our poetry of patriotism, upon anything better than the necessity which every man feels of protecting himself and his property against lawless depredation. In proportion as the number of men of property increases in Liberia, will the institutions of law be strengthened. Out of that very eagerness for money-making, which now characterizes so many of the colonists, and makes them neglect the public, will ultimately grow law and order, and public spirit, and stable institutions.

Those who are engaged in raising a hue and cry about evils in Liberia, which we cannot correct here at home, display no great share of charity or good sense. No other colony has ever succeeded so well as that; and none but those of the Puritans ever exhibited more public spirit, or more public virtue, or gave better promise of being the germ of an empire.

ONE FACT.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 4, 1834.]

A GENTLEMAN now here from Georgia is the owner of between forty and fifty slaves. They are employed in agriculture, and have such tasks to perform that their day's work is usually accomplished by one or two o'clock in the afternoon; after which they work on wages for their master or other persons, or do what else they please. They had, however, become somewhat refractory, and on a consideration of the whole matter, their master determined, before leaving home for the North, to give them the offer of their freedom. This the laws of Georgia forbid, except on condition of leaving the State. The colony at Liberia obviated this difficulty, and enabled him to try his benevolent experiment. He, therefore, called them together, made them an address, and told them they were free, upon condition of going to Liberia. But they all declined,—not because they objected to the condition, for they knew nothing of the misrepresentations of Abolition publications, but because they chose to remain as they were. A neighbor of this gentleman had, a short time before, sold his slaves at $300 each; so that the slaves who

were offered their freedom by this one gentleman were worth fully $15,000, and could have been sold for that sum but for the sympathy of their master.

Now, what a beautiful figure a few northern men cut, who having themselves, with one or two exceptions, made no sacrifices for the blacks, get together in conventions, and vote such a man a pirate, and load him with all the epithets of opprobrium which can be invented! This man was and is a slaveholder, and has only offered his slaves their liberty on the wicked condition of being "expatriated." Such are the broad charges which Abolitionists bring against men in a mass, some of whom are much better than themselves. Will such slanders aid any righteous cause?

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 7, 1834.]

A PUBLIC meeting was notified by the Abolitionists, to be held at Chatham Chapel on the morning of the 4th of July. The assembly to us appeared meager. It was composed of about equal proportions of whites and blacks, commingled through the house, and filling it about half full. In the choir of singers the males were chiefly black, and the females mixed together about half and half. The appearance of the audience seemed to us to indicate, that public curiosity was nearly satisfied with Abolitionism, and we felt sure that the promiscuous seating would deter most persons from attending hereafter.

The performances of the meeting commenced quietly, but soon after the beginning of the oration by David Paul Brown, Esq., who had been invited from Philadelphia for the occasion, a few low fellows near the door commenced a disturbance, which was kept up in various ways by shouting and clapping, and personal discussion with some of the Abolitionists about the relative importance of black and white men. Mr. Brown found it impossible to proceed, and he left the house, saying good-naturedly, that he must imitate the example of John Quincy Adams, when he published his "speech which was suppressed by the previous question." The assembly waited patiently for half an hour, perhaps, and as the noise did not cease, the choir sang the hymns which had been prepared, and all hands dispersed. Some of the police were in the mean time called, but declined making arrests, as no violence had been used, and the noise was cloaked under the expression of opinion at a public and promiscuous meeting.

The mingling of colors was calculated to produce excitement, especially that of the females in the choir. It was highly reprehensible in the leaders to persuade the young white women to do themselves so great an injury, for the sake of exemplifying their strange notions. Whether public opinion be right or wrong on this subject, young women are not the proper troops to be pushed to the front rank in the attack upon it. On the wall of the building, outside, was suspended the Declaration of the American Anti-Slavery Society, framed, and in the style of a fac-simile of the Declaration of American Independence. Nothing hardly could have been invented more insulting to American feeling. Indeed, if the Abolitionists had wished for a row, they could hardly have adopted measures more likely to bring it about.

Still we, in common with the friends of Colonization universally, reprobate and condemn the disturbance which was made. Inexcusable as were the proceedings of the Abolitionists, they form no excuse for the interruption of their meeting. The right to meet and discuss all topics belongs to those who are in the wrong as much as to those who are in the right. Public opinion needs reform in our city on this subject. The disturbance at Chatham Chapel was a small affair compared with what we have frequently witnessed at public meetings on exciting topics.

INCENDIARISM.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 10, 1834.]

A HANDBILL of the most incendiary character was seen posted about the city early yesterday morning, headed

"LOOK OUT FOR KIDNAPPERS!!"

Then follows a cut, representing a negro-driver mounted on a horse, with a double-thonged whip, driving before him a colored man, whose wife and children are almost clinging to the horse to prevent the unnatural separation. And what is the object of this expressive cut, in its present application? Nothing more nor less than an appeal to mob violence, against the execution of the laws,—nay, of the Constitution; which expressly provides that "no person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." The details of the handbill we decline copying. It will be sufficient to state that it records,

in the most offensive terms, the circumstances of a claim presented to our courts, for the surrender of three (alleged) runaway slaves—a man, his wife, and child. It concludes as follows:—"Will men who love liberty, and believe that all innocent men have a right to it, tamely see such villainy perpetrated by law in this city?—A man would be hung for it, if committed on the coast of Africa!—Opposition to tyrants is obedience to God."

This handbill is dated July 8th. As the Emancipator of the day previous contains the same thing in substance, and in nearly the same phraseology, (with some omissions,) we deem it fair to infer that both are the offspring of the same parents—*i. e.*, of the Abolitionists: of those who, "whatever else they may be, are, to a man, thorough-going advocates of non-resistance." In this respect they are like most other incendiaries. Their business is, not *defense* but *attack*. They set the whole community in a blaze by their violence,—call men pirates, thieves, kidnappers, knaves, villains, &c.—encourage the blacks to rescue slaves from the hands of the police, (read the above extracts from the handbill) when about to be given up to their masters in obedience to the Constitution,—but they never "resist,"—oh, no! that would be most unkind and unchristian. Their business is simply to fire the train; the explosion they leave to others. It is with the greatest reluctance that we express ourselves thus in regard to men, for some of whom we entertain a high respect, and whose motives, *i. e.*, the motives of some of them, we have no doubt are much better than those of Saul of Tarsus, when he thought he did God service by persecuting the church. But, situated as we are, we cannot keep silence without being misunderstood,—neither can we, as faithful sentinels, permit such incendiary proceedings to go on, without lifting up our voice against them. No one can be more opposed to slavery in the abstract than we are; no one can be more desirous to see it done away, "as soon as it can be done peaceably and on reasonable terms." We are willing to be taxed to any extent in common with the rest of the country, to indemnify slaveholders for their slaves, and with their consent, to set the slaves free. But we have no idea that this vast work can be accomplished by denunciation, or the calling of hard names, or by opposing the only practical enterprise yet in operation, which looks towards the accomplishment of so glorious a result. It is now more than a year that the Abolition papers, here and in Boston, have been vilifying the Colonization Society and Colonizationists, by a course of systematic misrepresentation which never had a paral-

lel, among papers pretending to moral honesty, since we first became acquainted with the newspaper press.

Such weapons may avail temporarily, but they never can conduct a righteous cause "to glory and to victory."

But while we express ourselves thus fully in reprobation of the course pursued by the so-called Abolitionists, we wish to caution their opponents, whether Colonizationists or otherwise, against countenancing, either by word or deed, any resort to a mob police. We have had too much of such government of late,—and if encouraged, it will eventually overwhelm us. Besides, the Abolitionists, as citizens, have rights, which do not at all depend upon the correctness of their opinions, or the wisdom of their measures. On this subject we concur with the following remarks from a communication which was sent us yesterday:

"The Constitution of the United States permits the citizens of this land, of all creeds, complexions and parties, to assemble peaceably, and deliberate on subjects of interest or of grievance, and to labor for such issues as they may deem good. If then they are peaceable and orderly, and confine themselves to the use of the press and the tongue, no body of men has a right to molest them; and if they transcend their rights, the magistrate alone has the prerogative of interfering, and then they may demand a legal trial.

"There is a weekly placard, displayed at the doors of Tammany Hall, inviting the young and thoughtless to attend infidel and profligate lectures, at that place, on the Sabbath-days. Yet,—although the detestable principles there proclaimed,—the mere continuation of the Atheism of the Hall of Science,—are directly calculated to subvert all that is virtuous and sacred; to undermine the firm pillars of government; and to overwhelm all our civil and religious liberties, our peace, prosperity, and immortal hopes, in the vortex of infidelity,—no mob is there assembled to oppose, or to offer the disturbance of a whisper. Nor would a friend of the liberties of his country, and much less a friend of religion, lift a finger to arrest the course of these deluded men, except by the use of persuasion and prayers,—the weapons of the gospel of peace."

JAY ON COLONIZATION AND ANTI-SLAVERY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 16, 1835.]

We opened this book with a respect transferred to it from its author, and rejoicing that now certainly we were in possession of something written in good temper, with fairness of statement and soundness of argument. As to the first, our anticipations are in a good degree realized. But as to the last two, we confess we are disappointed.

The first part of the book is devoted of course to an attack on Colonization. The last is occupied with a defense of Anti-Slavery, technically so called. With the latter part we shall not now interfere. We claim for Abolitionists, as we do for all Americans, their right to express their sentiments and give their reasons, in speeches or in writing, in public or in private, alone or in associations, so they only do it peaceably, and as good citizens. And this whether they be in the right or in the wrong, whether wise or foolish. It is therefore only when Abolitionists have carried their war upon the community to a degree of violence which the interests of no cause could warrant, that we have felt obliged to resist their movements.

In his attack upon Colonization, Mr. Jay begins with stating that "a powerful institution is now in operation which professes to be, not merely a remedy for slavery, but the ONLY remedy that can be devised." We confess this assertion cost us half our confidence in the book. It is totally incorrect, and has often been declared so. There are thousands who believe Colonization the only feasible remedy for slavery *which has yet been devised*; and it has been abundantly proved that it is a *possible* remedy. Yet that practically it will be an adequate remedy remains to be seen. That it is "the only remedy that can be devised," no Colonizationist can claim foreknowledge enough to declare. If in half a dozen instances, scattered over fifteen years, the advocates of Colonization have in the ardor of their debate spoken at all in this way, their expressions have referred to the state of things actually existing, rather than to possible future events. But who ever thought before, of insisting that a thing was good for nothing merely because some of its enthusiastic admirers had said it was good for everything? According to this mode of argument, if once in two years some friend of temperance should proclaim it as the *only* remedy for all the ills of life, then the American Temperance Society ought to be hunted from the world. It is thus that Abolitionists usually attack Colonization. They attach to it claims it never made, and then prove those claims ill

founded. They put up their own men of straw, then knock them over, and huzza for victory.

The next charge which Mr. Jay brings, is, that the Constitution of the American Colonization Society "has no *preamble* setting forth the *motives* which led to its adoption." This charge he fastens upon the Society by quoting the constitution itself. Certainly it is a most suspicious circumstance! Mr. Jay thinks it was "probably not without design." Yet our wisdom was never deep enough to penetrate to this thought, till we found it in the book. A constitution without a preamble! Let all good Abolitionists open both eyes and hold up both hands!

The third charge is almost as bad as the second. It is, that men whose opinions are wide apart on other subjects, come and act harmoniously together on this; and that "this anomalous amalgamation of character and motives has necessarily led to lamentable compromise of principle." Men should, then, not come together upon a point in which they are agreed, but upon those matters only about which they differ. The members of the Bible Society and the Tract Society ought to take this charge into serious consideration, and make no more "anomalous amalgamations,"—but the Episcopalians should talk of nothing but "Mother Church," the Presbyterians of the General Assembly, and the Methodists of the Bench of Bishops. To throw away their weapons of war and come together to do a good thing in which they are all agreed, such for instance as distributing "the Bible without note or comment," implies according to the argument of Mr. Jay "compromise of principle." It really implies only a compromise of ill nature.

After going over these tangible grounds of condemnation, Mr. Jay turns away to search more uncertain territories. He says, "True it is, that the Colonization Society protests against being judged by any but the official language of the board of managers. To the justice of this protest it is impossible to assent. The Society is arraigned at the bar of public opinion, *not for the object avowed in the Constitution*, but for the influence it exerts in vindicating and prolonging slavery, and in augmenting the oppression of the free blacks." The italics are Mr. Jay's. Among the fogs of suspicion then, let us go in search of malign *influences*. It was a long time before it was suspected by anybody but the avowed advocates of slavery, that the removal of free blacks at their own request to the land of their fathers, was a business of evil influence. Some of them, to be sure, thought the establishment of colonies of free blacks in Africa, which should ultimately grow perhaps into independent and well regulated communities, was of dangerous tendency;—that it was making too much of the blacks,

and would be likely to produce discontent among those who remained in slavery. The men who now compose the Anti-Slavery, or more properly Anti-Colonization party, were many of them for years the advocates of Colonization, and chiefly on the ground that its "influence" went to meliorate the condition of our colored population. At length however one of them thought he "smelt a rat," and within three or four years something of a party has been formed, of men who have opened their eyes to the delusion in which they were involved, and now think there is no virtue on earth equal to that of pulling down the work they had been so long and honestly building up.

But where are the evil *influences* of Colonization? It seems to be supposed that a sort of miasmatic atmosphere surrounds this undertaking, surcharged with misery and death for the poor negro. "A strong and very general prejudice exists against the free blacks," says Mr. Jay. "It is unfortunately the policy of the Society to aggravate this prejudice, since the more we abominate these people, the more willing we shall be to pay money for the purpose of getting rid of them."

A charge of deeper depravity than this is not often made. A charge too, entirely gratuitous and without foundation. And what proof does Mr. Jay bring to sustain his charge of duplicity, falsehood and cruelty, against the best and most honorable men of the nation? Why, he quotes the speeches and writings of Colonizationists, in which for the purpose of moving the compassion of the public towards the blacks and exciting their fellow-citizens to make an effort to cure the dreadful evils connected with their condition, their degradation has been spoken of *as it is*. Among the passages quoted is the following, from an editorial article in the African Repository, the official journal of the American Colonization Society. "There is a class (free blacks) among us, introduced by violence, notoriously ignorant, degraded and miserable, *mentally diseased*, broken-spirited, acted upon by no motives to honorable exertion, scarcely reached in their debasement by the heavenly light." How "mentally diseased" must that man be, who could see duplicity, fraud and cruelty, in such expressions of truth and compassion! Surely the missionaries who send appalling statements of the ignorance and wickedness around them, may better be told that they seek to aggravate the prejudices of Christians against their fellow-beings. Nay, the Bible itself is quite open to the animadversion of Abolitionists in this respect. The word *prejudice* Mr. Jay uses pretty much as demagogues use "monopoly," a mere sound to catch the unthinking. Some Abolitionists would almost make us think

it a "prejudice" to believe that negroes are black. It is however not a prejudice to believe the *truth*, be it what it may.

Next comes a charge that Colonization is unfavorable and opposed to the education and elevation of the blacks. One chief evidence of this is, that many friends of Colonization have expressed the opinion that they *can never* be elevated to an equality with the whites, or in fact to any satisfactory point in this country. Thus an *opinion*, honestly and sympathetically held by four-fifths of the philanthropists of our country, is metamorphosed into a wicked passion.

Of course Mr. Jay reiterates the charge that Colonization, by assisting the blacks to flee from the oppression they endure, becomes accessory to that oppression. The argument is this;—Colonization assists free blacks to go to Liberia; in consequence of this, the free blacks are treated with greater severity in the States in which they reside, in order that they may be made willing to go. *Ergo*, Colonization is accessory to the oppression. The argument confounds the distinction between innocent and guilty causes. After the massacre at Southampton in Virginia, the free blacks were hunted and shot like wolves. They fled trembling in every direction, and Colonization stepped forth and said, "Spare their lives, and I will take them away." This act Abolitionists have the stoicism to charge as a crime, and declare that Colonization is guilty of the sufferings inflicted on the blacks by their affrighted persecutors. If there is a climax to perversity in argument, it is this.

Again, some men engaged in acts of oppression have called on the name of Colonization; *ergo*, says Mr. Jay, Colonization was accessory to the crimes they committed. But time would fail us to mention one half of the wrong positions taken in this book. For in truth, there is, in our humble estimation, scarcely a paragraph which has not more or less of perversion. Its wholesale dealing with regard to facts, is quite remarkable. We have not space in a newspaper to go into details on this point. We may mention the paragraph with which he sets out as an illustration of the manner in which the author foregoes all regard to accuracy in driving at his object. There the number of slaves in the United States is put down at 2,245,144; and it is added, "they are moreover kept in ignorance, and compelled to live without God, and die without hope." Yet further along in the book, Mr. Jay puts down some hundreds of thousands of these very persons as savingly enlightened by the gospel, and on their way to heaven, full of hope. Such is the effect upon an honest and intelligent and philanthropic man, of giving himself up to suspicion and jealousy. His mind is carried away by airy nothings.

He sees hobgoblins and chimeras dire in every direction, but they have their parentage in his fancy alone. There are no opinions with which we have ever been conversant, which so utterly overthrow the mind, as those of the new sect called Abolitionists. They attack Colonization with arrows dipt in poison and pens in gall, and seem to think all the furies should be raised to put it down. Yet ask them calmly what they have to say against "colonizing free people of color in Africa with their own consent," and they answer, nothing at all. We have put this question to many of them, and without exception this is their answer. And we venture to predict that if any one will ask Mr. Jay his opinion of this simple matter of Colonization, Mr. Jay will answer that he APPROVES of it. After all the great efforts of this book, its wholesale statements, its perversions, and its unmeasured denunciation of the best of men, he will say that he APPROVES of Colonization. What he disapproves are things of his own creating. Abolitionists hatch cockatrice eggs, then fall to beating their own progeny, and if you ask them what they are about, they say they are fighting Colonization!

There is one subject in which we most cordially agree with Mr. Jay. It is the severity with which he reproves the conduct of the people of Connecticut for their treatment of Miss Crandall and her school. Here were the whole powers of a State, with the machinery of its legislation, brought to act against a single defenseless woman, while the magistrates who invoked the enactment of laws for her oppression, stood by and winked at the violation of all law for her injury. Her crime was, in fact, not that she taught colored girls, but that she kept her school *too near* the beautiful mansion of a man who thought himself too genteel to be thus annoyed. To gratify such pride it was, that the Legislature of Connecticut were moved to make oppressive laws, and for the same purpose were men countenanced, who trod the just laws of Connecticut under their feet. As citizens, as men, as gentlemen, the whole affair is one of deep disgrace.

In concluding an article which we could easily extend to any length, we have to say, there have doubtless been some errors in the management of the affairs of the American Colonization Society. Who from the beginning expected anything else? What human wisdom rises to infallibility; nay, in what untried enterprise of difficulty like this, do not men, conscious of their ignorance, enter with deep anxiety, lest their mistakes should be so great as to be ruinous? Doubtless, too, in the hundreds and thousands of speeches which have been delivered, and reports and essays which have been written for seventeen years, many foolish and erroneous things have been said. These productions, though starting from Colonization,

have spread in all directions, and included all the various opinions of their authors upon the deeply interesting subject of our colored population. With a great deal of what has been written, Colonization has really as little to do, as had the resolution of Mr. Foote, in the Senate of the United States on the public lands, to do with the mighty speeches on the tariff and nullification, and everything else, which agitated our political councils at that time, and which were made upon that resolution. But deducting all which in fairness ought to be deducted of this sort, Colonization is a noble cause. Its effects already have been good beyond estimation. It has pioneered the way to deliverance, both for the white and the black races of our country, from the curse of slavery. If others have other plans, let them be presented. Colonization will not hinder. But who are you, Abolitionists, that you should set up that your remedy is "the *only* remedy that can be devised?" Who are you, that you should attempt to overthrow such a cause as you assail? Who are you, that you should accuse Mills and Ashmun of becoming martyrs to establish cruelty and deceit? Who are you? What have you done for the negro? Talk you of how *few* Colonization has liberated and raised to the rank of men? Where is *one* upon whom *you* have conferred like favors?

SLAVERY AT THE COMMUNION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, June* 20, 1835.]

At a preliminary meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society in Boston, on the evening of the 25th ult., the following resolution was *unanimously* adopted:—

Resolved, That in the opinion of this convention, one of the most effectual means under God to persuade the slaveholder to "godly sorrow" for his sin, in degrading God's image, and to bring slavery to a speedy and blessed termination, is for the church everywhere to exclude from her communion and privileges, all those who claim and hold their fellow-men as property.

There is in this city, a lady of eminent piety, the widow of a clergyman, who lately resided in Virginia, but who was well known and loved through the whole country, and whose usefulness extended through every State. That gentleman was the owner of slaves, and they have fallen into the possession of his widow, who has made arrangements for their manumission. These arrangements have been made with a conscientious regard to the best interests of the slaves, and in conformity to the

Golden Rule. Acting with these motives, she has fixed a future day for the freedom of her slaves, and of course, up to the time when her arrangements take effect, she is excluded from the communion, and all the privileges of the churches; but the next day she may enjoy them. When men *pay the expense* of spreading a table, they may well invite or exclude whom they please. It seems but reasonable, that the same liberty should be allowed to Him who has been at the expense of spreading the table in question. We are getting to have plenty of churches of temperance, and churches anti-masonic, and churches of anti-slavery.

ABOLITION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 28, 1835.]

It is rumored that George Thompson, the imported agitator, having completed his assault upon the Theological Seminary at Andover, is about to make a similar attack upon Amherst College. Is there no law by which our literary and theological institutions can be protected against such outrages, especially from foreigners? At Andover, we understand, he or his co-agitators lectured seventeen evenings in succession; the whole object of their mission being to excite an insurrection among the students against the Faculty on the subject of Abolition. These worthy men had endeavored to keep the controversy out of the Institution; and to avoid any pretext for its introduction, the Colonization Society in the Seminary had submitted to a voluntary extinction. But it all would not answer. Accordingly a regular siege was laid to the Institution, by Thompson, Phelps & Co., and with the tactics of disciplinarians they contracted their approaches till they finally got into a grove near the Institution, where they held forth to some of the students,—the Faculty still persisting in their determination to exclude them from the walls. The language which they used on various occasions in respect to the Faculty was abusive and disgusting. What other society, pretending to be guided by Christian principles, ever trampled under foot the rules of propriety and common decency, as the Abolition Society has done, and is habitually doing? It is not enough to scatter firebrands all over the land; to sow the seeds of insurrection and bloodshed; to rivet the chains of the slave so tightly that all the wisdom of the wise, and all the philanthropy of the benevolent, may not be able to unloose them; but lest there should be one spot uncontaminated by their pestiferous influence, they invade the sanctuaries of

learning and religion, and exhort the students to rebel against their kind and faithful instructors! The spirit of radicalism and insubordination which is inherent in the system of Abolition as now preached would overturn the institutions of society everywhere, and bring in an age of anarchy over which angels might weep. But thanks to the intelligence and moderation of our countrymen, they will not long yield themselves to such deplorable guidance. There is a redeeming spirit in the land, and especially in New England, which will ere long restore things to their proper equilibrium. There is a light there, which will soon dispel the fogs and darkness that perverted eloquence has created. And here we wish to ask our respected New England friends who disapprove of the measures of the Abolitionists, whether it is not time to exert their influence in a more direct and decided manner than they have hitherto done, with a view to the more speedy *abolition* of this impracticable bundle of absurdities which has been concocted under the idea of its being a remedy for slavery! The disease has been permitted to run till the tokens of DISSOLUTION are clearly seen in prospect,—dissolution, not of slavery, but of THE UNION. And when that is done, we shall have lost the hold which we now have upon the South by political ties and social influence, and the prospects of the slave will be rendered more hopeless than ever. How much would the condition and prospects of the slaves in the British West Indies have been improved by a *dissolution of the union* between those colonies and the mother country? We will not insult the understandings of our readers by a reply

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EXCITEMENT AT THE NORTH AND AT THE SOUTH.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 7, 1835.]

WHILE the better discretion of the North is engaged in counteracting the violent efforts of fanatics here, we find ourselves assailed by fanatics in the South, not less deserving of rebuke. The threat of separating the Union, which had scarcely died away since the settlement of the tariff question, is revived, and made again to stalk abroad to affright us. It is a cry we always dislike, come whence it will. To our ears it speaks ill of the patriotism of those who make it, and their readiness to adhere in good faith to the compacts of the Constitution. That instrument was not drawn up with the understanding that each State should either have its own way in all things, or throw up the bargain. That would have been childish. Our fathers agreed to trust them-

selves to the working of the great instrument they had framed, and abide the result. To sound the cry of dissolution as the grand argument on all occasions of dissatisfaction, is neither just nor manly. Something like a dissolution of the Union has been attempted once by the Nullifiers, and it was found to be an exceedingly awkward business. Politicians were never more puzzled than were those of South Carolina in framing a nullifying system. The remedy, though pretty enough on paper, was found far from "peaceable" in practice. In the present case there is no pretense for separation which has the semblance of soundness. The movements of which the South complains are made by a portion of the community too small to implicate the whole, especially as a great majority think with the South that the course of northern fanatics is wrong, and are doing not a little to counteract it. The Richmond Whig says the South is entitled to legislative interference for preventing the manufacture in the northern cities of those missiles which assail its tranquillity. Is it possible (asks the Whig) that the power of the States is not adequate to the suppression of causes of offense against a sister State, which between foreign States would be *just cause of war?*

We shall adopt no such measures as the Whig recommends. The thing is as impracticable as the plans of the Abolitionists. We *reason* errors down in this part of the country, except that now and then of late years we have tried a mob. But the new process has been found to work exactly by contraries, and we hope will never be tried again. By the process of reasoning we have brought the Abolitionists to a stand; by the same process, with the favor of Providence, (if the South will let us alone,) will we entirely deprive them of any power to do mischief. It is about two years since the Garrison sect assumed consequence enough to attract public attention, and we dare engage its race is full half run. We acknowledge that we think the South has reason to complain loudly, and to be in some measure alarmed for the effects of the inflammatory conduct of the furious Abolitionists; and if their course should ever come to be pursued by the great mass of northern men, the South would have reason to look about for remedies, perhaps even for those which are violent. But why should the South be separated from its *friends;* from a community an immense majority of whom are for repressing all violence? Why take such a course merely to revenge the doings of a small minority?

But if the case of right were never so plain, how is the separation of the States to be a remedy for the wrongs of which the South complains? How would that check the effects of incendiary meetings, and speeches, and books? In the case of the tariff,

we could see how a dissolution of the Union would dissolve the tariff. But in the present case we do not see what possible relationship there is between the disease and the remedy. If the Union were severed, no territory would be annihilated. The country north of Mason and Dixon's line would still exist, and the Abolitionists would be as thick in it as before. The necessities of communication by mail would not be lessened, nor do we see that in any way anything would be accomplished for the security of the South. On the contrary we can see that much of the security they now possess would be taken away. In the first place, the disposition to stand by the South, and by all proper means to discountenance and oppose the violent measures of which she complains, would be cooled by the consciousness that by the separation she had grossly violated her duty and her constitutional obligations. The constitutional pledge by which all the States are bound to assist in the suppression of insurrection whenever it may occur, and to restore fugitives, would be at an end. Indeed we see nothing but loss to the South by the desperate measure which we are sorry to hear so freely talked of. It would be a loss irreparable to all the States, compensated by no good,—no, not the smallest, to any one of them. Why then, in the absence of all motives but the restlessness of passion, should we talk so freely of proving ourselves unworthy of our birth-right,—recreant to the inheritance which our fathers purchased for us with their blood ?

The recent violence upon the post-office at Charleston, and the sacrifice of human life in Mississippi upon the charge of conspiracy, will have a very bad influence at the North. If the violent measures of northern Abolitionists have, as was stated by the Richmond Whig, destroyed the Abolition party in Virginia, such events as have recently transpired at the South and West, will have a similar tendency to paralyze the efforts of those at the North who would put down the fanatics around them. As to the doings in Mississippi, there is not yet *before the public* any evidence that the supposed conspiracy is not wholly and solely a thing of heated imaginations. The confessions of men under torture are entitled to similar account with the watery ordeal by which witchcraft is wont to be tested. Yet has human life been sported with, and the agonies of sufferers, condemned by no legal investigation, mocked and derided. Northern citizens have been hung up without anything which deserves the name of trial. If it is expected that such cold-blooded violations of law and justice will meet with sympathy at the North, it is a great mistake. And if such measures are to be continued, we despair of opposing Abolitionists with success. But if we may be left to the

fair warfare of argument, northern intelligence and integrity will soon frown them into silence. But alas, for the poor negro!—What is he to do in such a conflict? If the Abolitionists have any compassion where they pretend so much, we pray them to pause in their cruel career.

OVER-ACTING AGAINST ABOLITIONISTS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 17, 1835.]

Our condemnation of the doctrines and measures of Immediate Abolitionists must not lead us to give countenance to errors on the other extreme. Such is the pretense that the question of slavery may not be discussed at the North. Such also is the doctrine which makes every one of the 10,000 postmasters in the United States a censor of the press. And such, above all, is the plan of hanging suspected persons at the South, without form of trial. There is reason to believe that innocent persons have already been sacrificed in this way in Mississippi. It seems incredible that such a mode of discriminating justice or rather injustice, should be publicly approved and advocated by respectable men. That in the heat of excitement and under apprehension of danger, instances of the kind should occur, is not indeed strange, however much to be condemned and deplored. But that men professing to be guided by reason and by law, should in their cooler moments, sanction such a system of murder, would, we repeat, seem to us incredible, were it not forced upon us by the evidence of our senses. There is the editor of the United States Telegraph, a gentleman and a professed Christian, yet in a paragraph which we copy elsewhere, he publicly expresses his regret that Crandall, who was arrested in Washington on a charge of circulating Abolition pamphlets, HAD NOT BEEN PUT TO DEATH ON THE SPOT instead of being handed over as he was, to the penalty of the laws! Does not the editor see that his doctrine is more bloody than that of Nero? The latter when first desired to sign his name to a list of malefactors who were to be executed in conformity to law, exclaimed, "I wish to heaven I could not write." But the editor of the Telegraph laments, not only that blood was not shed, but that it was not shed without law and in defiance of law. And the same doctrine has been avowed by many others. Does not the Constitution guarantee to every "criminal"—not innocent persons merely but to every *criminal*—the right of trial by jury? When therefore the Telegraph advocates what it calls "summary justice," in cases like that of Crandall, it advocates MURDER in the

eye of the law and of reason, and pours contempt upon the Constitution under which we live.

If we could make our voice heard over the whole South, we would tell them, that they are in danger of *over-acting* in this matter; *i. e.* if their object is to prevent the spread of Abolition principles. Public sentiment at the North has changed rapidly against the doctrines of the Abolitionists within the last few weeks, and unless the conduct of the South should be so violent as to create a reaction, there will be a chance, before long, for somebody to ring the funeral knell of the system, as our friend Ludlow was going to do, some time ago, in the case of the Colonization Society.

THE WORK GOES BRAVELY ON.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, October* 3, 1837.]

The Boston Liberator of Friday is stuffed with communications, resolutions of Anti-Slavery Societies, &c., denouncing the "Appeal" put forth by Rev. Messrs. Fitch and Towne, Abolitionists, of Boston, against the destruction of the Sabbath, the Clergy, the Church, civil government and family government, and against the claims of the Abolitionists to thrust their inflammatory notices into a minister's pulpit contrary to his known wishes, whenever the opportunity is afforded, by means of ministerial exchanges or otherwise. The "Appeal" arrogates nothing to the clergy but rights essential to their official existence; and until the labors of the Abolitionists began to enlighten society into its privileges and duties, such a document would have been considered tame, if not latitudinarian. We therefore notify the disciples of Fanny Wright, Robert Dale Owen, and all other infidels and radicals in morals, that while their cause in this quarter is apparently on the wane, light has sprung up for them in the East, fast by the graves of the Pilgrims. Go and refresh yourselves with its beams. Yoke yourselves to the car of Abolition. Doubtless you shall be promoted to honor; yea doubtless, by this new and powerful machinery, you shall accomplish vastly more for the destruction of the institutions of religion, than you have hitherto been able to achieve. Let us give you the watch-words; they will speak music to your souls. Listen:

"Down with the Sabbath.
"Down with the Clergy.
"Down with the Church and the Sacrament.
"Down with Civil Government.
"Down with Family Government."

These will do to begin with; though there are others into which you will be initiated in due time.

We wish not to be misunderstood. We do not say that *all* Abolitionists accord with these sentiments; for we know it is otherwise. But we do say, and we can prove, that every one of the doctrines named has been embraced in the teachings of Abolition Agents, and propagated at the expense of Abolition Societies.

THE ALTON RIOT.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, November 24, 1837.*]

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But what we designed more particularly to speak of, when we began, was the pertinacity with which the Abolitionists pressed the measure which led to the riot. We admit that nothing which they did, or could do, would *justify* the riot, and of course that from beginning to end it was an outrage of the most flagrant character. It was both a breach of law and an invasion of right. On a former occasion we expressed our views in regard to it more at length. We have no wish to abate anything of the severity with which we then denounced the transaction. But at the same time we must say, that in spite of laws and rights, in spite of the sanctions of the Constitution, in spite (it may be) of the claims of justice and humanity, unlawful resistance will always be liable to follow unyielding pertinacity in pressing measures of supposed reform, in opposition to a strong public sentiment. There is need of wisdom and moderation in the furtherance even of the most desirable reforms. Time, place, and circumstances, must be consulted. "Expediency," a much abused word and thing, must be restored to its proper place in men's thoughts. They must remember that they can exercise all their constitutional rights without coming into collision. A. has a constitutional right to walk the street; so has B. They both have a constitutional right to walk in such part of the street appropriated to foot passengers, as they please. But if one chooses to take just that part of the walk which the other does, and if both insist upon their preference, they will come into collision; and bloody noses or something worse will probably be the consequence. A little forbearance and concession on both sides,—a little waiving of their constitutional rights—would have obviated all the difficulty. So it is in matters of greater concern. Men must be gentle in their feelings and conduct, if they would get along without trouble. They must be mindful of the rights and feelings, and even the preju-

dices of others. We do not ask them to compromise principle, though we beg them to distinguish between a steadfast adherence to principle, and a stubborn self-will. Men of ardent temperament, when they have once committed themselves to a cause, want to take the whole world along with them; and marvel that all will not come at once. Some of them have a leaven of pride too; a zeal to be reformers; and not unfrequently they attempt to imitate the course and manner of some successful reformer whom they have in their eye. In such cases they very commonly over-act. Luther, for instance, could do many things which Thomas Thumb cannot; even though the latter should imagine himself a second Luther. We hope that the deplorable riots and mob-murders, of which we have had so many examples within a year or two past, in different parts of the country, will arouse the community to the adoption of the most efficient measures for the prevention and punishment of such outrages in future, and also impart a lesson to those who need it, of the indispensable necessity of prosecuting even unquestionably good enterprises, which bear upon public sentiment, with wisdom and moderation.

THE ALTON RIOT.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, December* 7, 1837.]

A CORRESPONDENT in allusion to the Alton affair, inquires "if an editor of a newspaper, or any man engaged in a lawful business, must ask permission of any people to pursue his business among them." Not unless he chopses to do so. In most cases, he would *wish* to consult them, and endeavor to secure their coöperation. Yet if he failed in this,—nay, if he found the people united as one man in opposing him and his undertaking,—he might still go ahead and establish his paper if he chose. There is nothing in the Constitution or laws to prevent it. These instruments, on the contrary, have guaranteed the perfect freedom of the press and of the tongue. The editor's undertaking, in the case supposed, is a "lawful" one. He has a "constitutional right" to carry it forward. But what then? "*All* things are lawful," almost,—"but all things are not expedient." It is lawful to sell rum, and to do a great many other foolish and wicked things. The Constitution has thrown the doors wide open in regard to civil rights; in doing which, it presupposed a certain degree of moderation on the part of the people. Unfortunately it presupposed what does not always exist. A moment's reflection would convince any reasonable man that *all* the rights guaranteed by the Constitution

cannot be exercised, except under restrictions as to time, place and circumstances. The same Constitution which authorizes the freedom of speech and of the press in Illinois and Massachusetts authorizes it also in South Carolina and Mississippi. Why then, if the Abolitionists are determined to insist on all their constitutional rights without restriction, do they not establish a press in one of the last mentioned States? Are they afraid of being mobbed? What! Do we not live under a government of laws? And are they not competent to the protection of a *peaceable* citizen engaged in a *lawful* business? No, friend, they are not; and what is more, they never will be, until the state of society is radically changed. We may complain as loudly and as bitterly as we please, that we cannot exercise our constitutional rights in such cases,—yet the fact remains unchanged; we cannot. An army of 100,000 men could not make it otherwise. Instead then of turning the world upside down because we cannot do as we please in all things, it would be well for us to consider whether our pleasure is not sometimes our folly and our sin. Is it *right* for us habitually to strain the Constitution to bursting? Is it wise? Is it prudent? Shall we ever get a better one, if this is destroyed?

By the way, nobody is more sensitive to what they call the abuses of the press, than the Abolitionists. If anything is said against *them*, it is a dreadful thing,—a deliberate attempt to get up a mob, &c. Yet a course of conduct pursued by themselves, which they know will result in a mob, is perfectly harmless,—nay, highly meritorious. *Their* right to the licentious use of the tongue and the press is sacred; another man's right to the same things is the hight of presumption.

THE RIGHT OF PETITION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 25, 1838.]

If our rights are what they should be, then it is best to preserve them just as they are; and if we would preserve them, we must understand them accurately, so as neither to make less of them, nor more, than we intended. It is always the effect of extending one right too broadly, that it trenches upon and diminishes another, either of our own or some other person. The right of petition is just what the phrase imports; and not the right to control the action of the power to whom the petition is sent. The citizens of the country are secured in this right by the Constitution. That instrument, in its amendments, declares

that "Congress shall make no law" for the purpose of preventing the citizens from petitioning. Well, Congress have made no law on this subject; and there is nothing in the way of sending as many petitions to Congress as anybody pleases. Any man, woman or child, can send up a petition for the same thing, every day through the whole session of Congress; and that too without the payment of postage, or fees, or expenses of any sort. Certainly, then, when people, under such circumstances, complain that they are deprived of the right to petition, they must mean something which the Constitution does not, and ought not to secure. We say ought not, for obviously the only thing which the Constitution ought to secure, is the right of combination, and arrangement, and organization, according to the people's pleasure. The grand object of tyrants is to prevent the popular will from being strengthened by organization and consultation. A tyrant will not allow his subjects to assemble to discuss political topics, or circulate petitions, or in any way act in concert, and so strengthen themselves against their oppressor. The Constitution intends to secure to the inhabitants the full right to combine as much as they please, and in all possible ways; to talk and write, as loud and as long, as wisely and as foolishly, as violently and as calmly, as they please; and stops them not until they take up arms, or in some way resort to physical force. If they do this, the Constitution sends them to prison; for the use of physical force interferes with the right of all other persons to write and talk.

But, it is said, "what possible value can there be in the right of petition, if, after all, Congress are not obliged to give the least heed to our prayers, not even to read them and know what they are?" True enough; what use is there in drawing up long arguments, if Congress will not be convinced by them? What use in a long array of signatures, if Congress will not be influenced by them? What use in petitioning, if our petitions are not granted? There is all the use which an intelligent freeman can desire. The right of petition, as some understand it, would resolve our republic into a democracy of the most disorderly kind. Every citizen, by virtue of the right of petition, would then become a member of Congress, and even more than a member; for he would possess the prior right to make motions and argue topics. If every petition must of right be considered, this would be the result. Congress have always done what they pleased with petitions. The usual place of putting those to rest which it is not desirable to act upon, is in the hands of a committee; but of this, Congress is to judge for itself. Any other rule than that which gives Congress the entire control over petitions after they are pre-

sented, would be inconsistent with those provisions of the Constitution which confer on Congress their powers; inconsistent with itself; inconsistent with the transaction of business by Congress; inconsistent with everything which has order or propriety about it. With these sentiments, we cannot help thinking that the very respectable meeting of young gentlemen at Clinton Hall, last Monday night, mistook the true state of the case when they passed the following resolution, viz:—

Resolved, That the resolution of the House of Representatives, offered by Mr. Patton, of Virginia, and passed on the 21st December last, declaring that certain petitions "*be laid on the table without being* DEBATED, *printed*, READ, *or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon*," is a palpable violation of the rights of petition and debate, exhibits an unjustifiable and indecorous contempt for the opinion of a portion of our fellow-citizens, is dangerous as a precedent for innumerable abuses of a similar nature, unconstitutional, and subversive of the very principles upon which our government is founded.

In our humble judgment, the resolution of Mr. Patton does not touch at all the right of petition; and the only ground upon which it can be assailed successfully, is, not that of constitutional right, but of propriety and expediency. Congress, beyond all question, we think, had the full right to adopt that resolution if they deemed it expedient. That it was expedient, we shall not say. But we do say that there was pressing necessity for some measure that should allay the excitement in Congress, and restore such calmness among the members as that the public business could receive attention. The reading and printing of the petitions would have made great expense of time and money, and could not, by any possibility, have enabled the members of Congress to understand the subject better than before. There is no pretense that the petitions contained a single idea which had not been fully before the House a hundred times before. They all prayed for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; a measure which Congress had with great unanimity resolved that it was inexpedient to adopt. These petitions were sent in, more for the sake of producing excitement and agitation, than for the purpose of convincing anybody. They furnished the means of indulgence to the scolding propensities of J. Q. Adams, and helped him to set Congress on fire daily, as Nero did Rome, for his amusement. We think the sport reprehensible in the highest degree, unpatriotic, and dangerous. Since the adoption of Mr. Patton's resolution, comparative quiet has been restored to Congress, and that body has attended to better business, though we cannot say that they have brought any great good to pass.

The Abolitionists are now trying, as their last shift, to continue the storm they have raised, (and which, but for some new expedient, must subside,) by reviving old animosities against the South. Our southern brethren are high-toned, and oftentimes rash. They do not endure provocations with the Christian charity nor the calm magnanimity which would be to their credit. They have been wronged most deeply, most ungenerously, most wickedly, by the Abolitionists. We caution our fellow-citizens against being drawn into the plans of the agitators, upon this most unpatriotic and dangerous ground, of opposition to the fiery temper of the South. Let the North be first just, and then, if possible, generous. Sectional prejudices have been heretofore fostered by political aspirants, and will be again. But it is a dangerous game. The Father of his country warned us on this head. All our sages have done the same.

As to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, desirable as in our estimation it is, there is no hope of it, until the Abolition fury has blown over, and calmness and kindness are restored. The only way for the judicious and real friends of that measure is, to wait the returning current of events, which shall set us back where we were seven years ago, when we ourselves could advocate the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in all the South, with some hope of usefulness; when in Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, the abolition of slavery was freely advocated by the best and ablest men of those States. But their mouths are closed now, though we trust not forever. We trust the day is not far distant, when the greatest danger of our country, its most crying sin, its deepest disgrace, and its most blighting curse, shall again become, as it always ought to be, the theme of our anxious and earnest, yet kind and patient deliberation. The first step toward such a state of things, is to stop the broad and deep current of vituperation and slander which is ever flowing from the North to the South, and which, instead of producing the effect intended, exasperates to madness those who have the sole constitutional control over the subject in the States—the slaveholders,—and brings them at once into an attitude of defiance. If this is the way to abolish slavery, our judgment is strangely perverted.

PHILADELPHIA ABOLITIONISTS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 19, 1838.]

The City of Brotherly Love has been kept in a pretty considerable ferment for two or three days past, by the presence of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, who had some tough questions to settle; and especially by the sudden appearance of a petticoat convention, black and white, assembled from parts unknown. Then there was the dedication of Agitation Hall, in which the convention held their sittings. Such was the occupancy of the hall on the day previous to its destruction; we mean it was occupied by the petticoat convention; and on the evening previous, three women, besides William Lloyd Garrison, held forth to a *very* promiscuous assembly of 3000 persons. Now we suppose it would be highly improper for us to express any doubt whether such conduct is becoming the modesty which ought to belong to the female sex,—and which does belong to a good part of them,—for we have learned by experience, that any disapprobation, even the slightest, of the conduct of the Abolitionists, in a time of excitement against them, is interpreted into a direct encouragement of the mob. For ourselves, we disapprove both of the mob and the causes of it. We do not say we disapprove of the two things equally; for they do not exactly admit of comparison. An open violation of the decencies and proprieties of life is not in all respects so bad as burning a house; yet it is *so* bad, and productive of so much mischief, that the perpetrators, especially if women, ought to hide their heads with shame. Really, we have fallen upon beautiful times, when white dandies with spectacles, and black wenches,—and black dandies with white wenches,—must show themselves off in our most public promenades, walking arm in arm; and in our churches, mingled like the squares on a checker board; and when women, (O that the Apostle Paul would come among us,) with more brass than men can readily command, are seen holding forth to large promiscuous assemblies, or traveling hundreds of miles to meet in convention!

THE ABOLITIONISTS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 29, 1838.]

We shall probably have occasion to use this *caption* but a few times more. The meteor has passed across our planet with a scorching heat which burned its own hair, and has at last exploded, and the fragments are fast losing their power of conflagration.

It has been rather a wonderful affair upon the whole. A few violent spirits, led on by Garrison, a man of talents and perseverance and vindictive hate, came forth as the opponents of slavery in a community the freest in the world, whose grandfathers had abolished slavery with the utmost detestation of the thing,—a detestation which has descended in full force to their posterity. On the capital of this universal sentiment they have contrived to carry on a pretty large trade of agitation, by getting themselves up as above all the champions who would lead on the people to the gratification of their dislike of slavery. In the progress of their warfare, they have not distinguished themselves as the opponents of slavery; *that* was impossible. But they have distinguished themselves by their furious denunciations of everybody who did not instantly fall down and worship the idol which they had set up; by their disregard of all Christian and gentlemanly courtesy; by the fallacious modes of reasoning which they adopted; by the axioms which they laid down as fundamental truths, almost all of which had some admixture of palpable error; and perhaps above all, by their perversion of the king's English, which they carried so far as to make a dialect for themselves, which a common English scholar could by no means understand. After a long dispute about the propriety of the immediate abolition of slavery, you would find that *immediate* meant only doing something *now* with the hearty purpose of putting an end to slavery at some day far ahead; and perhaps you would find at last, that the furious advocate of immediate emancipation was really for making a much longer process of it than yourself. "Slaveholder" does not with them mean a holder of slaves, but a holder of slaves with mere mercenary designs; whereas, a man may hold slaves never so many and never so long, if only he would adopt their notions about the right of the case, and then he is no slaveholder at all. The Catholic doctrine of *intention* was everything with them.

At first, the matter was much misunderstood by many persons, and the more, because some, and even most of these violent spirits, had made high professions of piety, and had in fact been associated in many good things. Their sophistry confounded some. They made a syllogism thus: They said; Is not slavery a sin? Yes. Ought not all sin to be immediately repented of? Yes. Well then, they exclaimed, ought not the sin of slavery to be immediately repented of and abandoned? This they would say with a self-complacent sneer of triumph, as if such logic must shut up all mouths; and yet in their public documents and private conversations, they declared themselves unconvinced by it, and that slavery ought not to be immediately abolished. It was not every

one who could see where the fallacy of this logic lay; and only those who had become familiar with the use of the cut and thrust sword could slash it open and show its falsity so plainly as to shut up the declaimer's mouth. With furiousness and unfairness, and vindictiveness, and some other evil things, these men continued to irritate the lower classes, and to get up mobs in several instances, while they compelled the more thinking and substantial part of the community to take their stand in opposition both to the Abolitionists, who violated all moral and conventional laws, and to the mob, who violated the civil and statute codes. Some, from their detestation of the mobs, were carried over to join the Abolitionists entirely. Generally, when there was personal danger to be feared from the mob, the Abolitionists took their lives in their hands, and cleared out, leaving the storm they had raised to be calmed by the sensible part of their opponents, and then they usually charged the getting up of the mob upon the men who had put it down. We remember no one except Lovejoy, who has put himself in the breach. The result with him has done nothing to inspire others. In Philadelphia, the morning after their Hall was burned, they held a solemn meeting in front of the ashes, and adjourned *sine die.*

It was evident from the beginning, that this sect must be short-lived. They lived on violent passions, and their only hope was in agitation and fury. But violent passion is always of short duration. Another mortal deficiency in their plan was the want of any tangible end to be accomplished. This is always necessary in order that men should be long kept together. The Abolition agitators could not, in the nature of the case, have any such end, the accomplishment of which they could see going on. They have expended some half million of dollars, it may be, in all, in printing pamphlets and newspapers, and sending agents all over the free States to convert people to Abolitionism who in every good sense were already better Abolitionists than themselves. The labor was only beating the air. Besides all this, it was evident that the accumulation of numbers to their standard would be death to their cause; for although many might be impregnated with the distinctive mania of the new sect, the great mass of adherents would be of a character too calm and sensible to support the furious fight on which the leaders were bent. So it has turned out. A great many members of the Abolition Societies have turned conservatives, and are actually the most efficient opponents of the madness of their leaders. The community generally, though greatly excited at first, have ceased to care much for the noise. Even the southern slaveholders, though driven by their resentment to many most foolish and wicked speeches and

deeds, have now become more cool and self-possessed. The zeal of the Abolitionists themselves has also cooled somewhat, if we may judge from their diminishing efforts. They have tried to rekindle the zeal of their party by the fires of Pennsylvania Hall, but we apprehend, with no great success.

The catastrophe of the affair seems now to have arrived. The leaders, in their efforts to turn the heads of the public, have pretty thoroughly addled their own. They have, as is the end of fanatics commonly, espoused the most monstrous errors. Garrison denounces the Sabbath, the clergy, all government, even that of the family, and teaches the little ones to disobey their parents, for this is right. In this he is joined by several others. Miss Grimké has, with some other women and men, turned off from declaiming against the oppression of the blacks, to denouncing the oppression of the women. Some of them have become perfectionists, and now count themselves too good to associate even with white folks; and Mr. Stewart, of Utica, has created a grand split by declaiming that the society was wrong in the declaration it had placed in its constitution, that with the States alone rests the power to legislate on the subject of slavery. Mr. Stewart was able to convince a majority of members at the last sitting, that in this fundamental avowal they were utterly wrong. He said such a doctrine was quite in the way of their success; for when the people were urged to join the Abolitionists, a great many pointed to that clause in the Constitution, and very coldly said, if that be true, what's the use of anti-slavery societies in the free States? This very sensible common sense logic was too much for Mr. Stewart, and so with a true Abolition heart, he is for putting all impediments out of the way. On the whole, these loving men and women, blacks and whites, abhorring all prejudice about sex or color, have got their claws pretty well into each others' hair, and whatever may be left of the persons, there will be hardly a grease-spot, in three years, to mark where Abolition once sat. We said, whatever may be left of the persons. Here is to us a melancholy thought. Many of the leaders will be left intellectual wrecks, (we hope not moral wrecks,) to warn all who navigate the moral seas, to beware how they abandon the teachings and temper of the great Book of charts.

ABOLITION IN THE CHURCHES.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, February* 2, 1839.]

The Abolitionists are holding a great city convention here, about these days, and trying hard to blow up the expiring embers of agitation. One of the measures resolved upon, is, we understand, to form an Anti-Slavery Society in every church in the city, and very likely in the country too. They would perhaps like to form an Abolition Society in every quiet and happy family if they could. As to the Church Anti-Slavery Societies, they are in violation of the plainest principles of fairness, though in accordance with the policy which has been adopted too much, in connection with other efforts at reform, and sanctioned by much high authority, besides that of Abolitionists. The churches are well formed associations, and if their united action can be turned to any one point, the results are likely to be important. So they have been made the cauldrons to boil all soups in. But it ought to be remembered that churches are associations for *one* purpose, and the members being agreed on this *one point*, live together very affectionately, though on other matters they may hold very diverse opinions. It is easy to see, that if one party undertake to pervert the association and make it into a temperance society; another party to make it into an anti-slavery society; another, a moral reform society; another, an anti-masonic society; and all the rest, something else, that the original design of the institution is overthrown, and a peaceful association turned into a bedlam. The same reasoning would apply to any other association. It is often the case that associations formed for other purposes, are attempted to be made into *political* engines. This is always complained of, and justly; for it is unfair, and a violation of the pledge given on entering the association. We do not expect to convince Abolitionists with this reasoning, obviously just as it is; but we hope to convince other men, and induce them to let the churches attend to their own proper business; viz., the promulgation of the Gospel simply, and an attendance upon its ordinances. As to the new spasm of Anti-Slavery, we hope the churches will "take it coolly." They will not be hurt if they behave wisely. The effort will prove itself feeble for mischief, if so designed. Abolition has had its day; its character is well understood; its adherents are falling off sick; and in all respects it has ceased to be an alarming apparition.

ABOLITION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 12, 1840.]

Our good friends the Abolitionists are getting into a pretty considerable snarl, from which we wish them a safe deliverance. As they have had but little fighting to do with the public of late, they have gone at it, hammer and tongs, among themselves. We expect they will end where the Kilkenny cats did.

Be it known, then, to all horned cattle, that the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, including its worthy President Arthur Tappan, Esq., are regarded by the Garrison faction as far,—very far behind the age. They are not up to the latest humbugs by a long way. They do not hold to the non-resistance, no-human-government theories; they do not denounce the clergy; they are not in favor of dressing out women with boots and spurs; they can't go perfectionism; they regard the Sabbath as a divine institution; and in various other respects they are guilty of the most alarming heresies. Therefore they must be ousted from their places; and to this end Garrison and his party are coming on, or have come on, with all the strength they could muster,—male and female, black and white,—to vote these gentlemen out of office. And they will succeed; we have no doubt of it. One feature of the Abolition Society is, that every member, male and female, has a right to vote in its meetings; and as the admission fee is a mere song, it is the easiest thing in the world for any restless individual who is mean enough, and willing to take the trouble, to turn the administration of the society up side down. So here she goes. To-morrow is the day for the tragedy to be enacted. In the mean time we copy from the last Lie-berater, the rallying-cry of the revolutionary party: "*The New York Anniversary.*—If after all the facts that have been laid before the Abolitionists of the country, respecting the plan to abolish the National Society, and to put the management of our cause into the hands of a select body of men, &c., &c.,—and after all the warnings and appeals that have been made to them, to rally together at New York, next week, in order to keep our common platform from being broken down by the hoof of sectarianism—they shall neglect to give an overwhelming attendance, it will prove conclusively, that Abolitionism is indeed 'going down.' In order to enable such of the friends of the 'Old Organization' in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, as wish to be present at the meeting, without incurring much expense, we are requested to state that arrangements have been made with the railroad and steamboat companies, by which it is expected that delegates may go from this city to New York,

and back again, for a sum not exceeding five dollars! They can also be accommodated with food and lodging in New York, for 50 cents a day. An extra train of cars will leave Boston for Providence on Monday next, May 11, at half-past 12 o'clock, stopping at the intermediate places, on the arrival of which at Providence, the company will embark for New York, in the spacious steamboat Rhode Island, (one of the safest and best boats in the country,) touching at Newport for the accommodation of the friends in New Bedford, Nantucket, &c., &c. A grand anti-slavery meeting will be held on board the boat during the passage. Under these circumstances, it is hoped and believed that our friends will muster strong. A special invitation is given to our colored friends to be fully represented on the occasion, as they will be admitted to equal privileges with others, both in the cars and on board the boat."

SLAVERY—SEPARATION OF CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS INTO NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 28, 1845.]

The question of slavery was above all others the most difficult to be adjusted and settled, at the time of the formation of the Federal Government; and though, in the spirit of compromise, the institution was recognized in the Constitution, and left, as to its continuance or abolition, where it was found, exclusively under the control of the State sovereignties sanctioning its existence, it was then, in its moral relations, and has been ever since, a subject of discussion and agitation. Some have thought, (and Granville Sharp in a letter to Dr. Franklin, dated 1788, expressed this opinion,) that the clause in the Constitution permitting the longer continuance of the American slave trade, and that of the second section of the third article, requiring the surrender of fugitive slaves, were "so clearly null and void by their iniquity, that it would be even a crime to regard them as law." Others, at the origin of the Constitution, maintained, and many now maintain, that in forming a union of sovereign States, the toleration of evils preëxisting in some of those States, and under their exclusive control, if the consequence be clearly conducive to the amelioration and ultimate extinction of such evils, is a dictate of sound morality; and that the ancient Jewish law touching slaves that might escape from their masters, was a part of the civil code of Judaism only, and not of the moral code of immutable and universal obligation. The whole subject of slavery in these

United States is so complicated in its relations, involving so many rights and duties of individuals, of States, of the general government, of respect to the mutual interests of two distinct races of men, as to involve the deepest questions in morals, politics and religion. Hence, for the last ten years, probably no one subject has more occupied the public mind, been more thoroughly investigated, or earnestly discussed, by the press, by voluntary associations, by ecclesiastical bodies, and by the representatives of the people in the State and national councils. The agitation has finally severed the ties of Christian union between the northern and southern members of two of the largest ecclesiastical communions, and is perhaps threatening others. No such divisions can affect the question of duty in regard to our slave population, and how far they will contribute to advance or retard its performance, is yet to be seen. We confess our apprehensions, that as in cases of divorce between those most closely allied in domestic relations, the alienation of feeling will increase, and error on both sides become more inveterate. Let us, however, hope for the best. Rash and reckless as has been the course of northern Abolitionists, the moral sense and sentiment of all Christians whose interests are not identified with slavery, demand of the people of the Southern States,—not on the ground of law or constitution, but of right reason (the foundation of both) and of humanity and Christian duty,—a system of voluntary, cautious, but determined action for the improvement of the condition and elevation of the character of the slaves,—that such ancient laws should be revised as are contrary to justice and benevolence,—that these people who cultivate the fields, and by their labor enrich the South, should be permitted to *possess, read, and search the sacred Scriptures*,—should enjoy, like others, the benefits of ample religious instruction,—and that their families should be protected by law against wanton insults, and the needless and cruel rupture and destruction of their domestic relations. The misrepresentations and fierce denunciations of the Abolitionists have been pleaded by southern Christians as an excuse for their inaction; but now, having assumed a separate and independent position, they should give activity and effect to those just and humane sentiments upon which, on account of the unreasonable and imprudent interference of others, they have felt compelled to impose restraint. We have never doubted the general humanity of Christians at the South; but so imperfect, even in good men, is our nature,—so affected by early habits, associations and circumstances,—so disposed to voluntary ignorance, where knowledge would give pain—to apologize for indolence where efforts must be arduous to be successful,—so inclined to think and say it is enough

for us to rest satisfied with the customs, laws and institutions of our fathers,—that mighty influences, the clear shining of great truths, or some Luther's thundering voice, can alone arouse them to the energy and self-denial of thorough and extended reform.

GOVERNOR HAMMOND'S LETTERS ON SLAVERY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 3, 1845.]

The great body of Southern people will be found hereafter sustaining the positions taken by Governor Hammond, and it is well that our Northern friends should be duly informed thereof; and his whole discussion is so manly, plain, and good tempered, that his own words are the best medium in which his reasonings can be conveyed.—*Charleston Paper.*

THIS sentence is selected from an article announcing the republication of Governor Hammond's Letters in pamphlet form for general circulation at the South, and the writer urges their republication by Northern editors as a conclusive vindication, from the South, of perpetual slavery. We have already briefly reviewed the first letter of this gentleman, and demonstrated, we trust, that his main argument, derived from patriarchal and Jewish example, has no validity. His second letter is now before us. To the argument deduced from the practice of patriarchs and the civil code of the Jews he recurs, as if sensible that on no other ground can his doctrine of the right of perpetual slavery be sustained.

Before we proceed to reëxamine this argument, we must be permitted to notice one of the many fallacies of the author, in regard to our knowledge of the existing slavery at the South. He thus addresses Mr. Clarkson, of England:—

"I have not the least doubt that you think yourself the very best informed man alive on this subject, and that many think likewise. So far as facts go, even after deducting from your list a great deal that is not fact, I will not deny that probably your collection is the most extensive in existence. But as to the *truth* in regard to slavery, there is not an adult in this region but knows more of it than you do. *Truth* and *fact* are, you are aware, by no means synonymous terms. Ninety-nine facts may constitute a falsehood; the hundredth, added or alone, gives the truth. With all your knowledge of facts, I undertake to say that you are entirely and grossly ignorant of the essential principles of human association revealed in history, both sacred and profane, on which slavery rests, and which will perpetuate it forever in some form or other. However you may declaim against it; however powerfully you may array atrocious incidents; whatever appeals you may make to the heated imaginations and tender sensibilities of mankind, believe me, your total blindness to the *whole truth*, which alone constitutes the

truth, incapacitates you from ever making an impression on the sober reason and sound common sense of the world."

Again: "Other Reformers, animated by the same spirit as the Abolitionists, attack the institution of marriage, and even the established relations of parent and child. And they collect instances of barbarous cruelty and shocking degradation which rival, if they do not throw into the shade, your slavery statistics. But the rights of marriage and parental authority rest upon truths as obvious as they are unchangeable, —coming home to every human being, self-impressed forever on the individual mind, and cannot be shaken until the whole man is corrupted, nor subverted until society itself becomes a putrid mass."

Whether there be any ground for the distinction suggested by Governor Hammond between *truth* and *fact* (and it is at least shadowy) or not, every *fact* is undoubtedly a *truth*, and it is obvious, that if "ninety-nine facts may constitute a falsehood, and one added, or alone, give the truth,"—if the "*whole truth* alone constitute the *truth*,"—Governor Hammond, not less than Mr. Clarkson, is incapacitated to judge on the subject of slavery, or to make an impression on the sober reason and sound common sense of the world. We are aware of the injustice and unfairness of those, who would string together rare and atrocious instances of cruelty or crime, to be found in any society, and present them as evidence of the general character of such society. But such collections of facts, under one system, with collections fairly made under other and different systems of society, are not useless in determining the relative merits of the two. And if it be evident, as we hope to show, that neither Patriarchal example nor Jewish law is of validity to sustain the doctrine of perpetual slavery, certainly *as it now exists*, and that while Christianity tolerates, its prevalent spirit must inevitably in due time, and by proper means, subvert the system, we must conclude that abuses under relations divinely sanctioned as permanent, are not to be alleged as arguments for the perpetuity of slavery, and we might conclude as probable, what we believe to be true in fact, that the abuses under the system, destined to perish, are greater in number and extent than those incident to natural relations immutably established by the moral law.

What does or can any one man, or any twenty men living, know of all the facts embodied in the operations of the system of slavery, during a single day? On a subject so extended, so complex, so varying, the knowledge of the wisest, the most experienced, the most observing and sagacious, must be very defective, and altogether general. To the formation of correct opinions concerning it, Mr. Clarkson's position is in some respects unfavorable; Governor Hammond's is so in others. The former is peculiarly liable to prejudice, exposed to exaggerated

statements, left to form his judgment from testimony, from the laws, and the published acts of cruelty and oppression in the South, without observation, or just representations of many compensating circumstances and deeds of humanity. The latter, founding his whole theory on imagined Divine right, defends this fiction as conscientiously as though it were fact, looks round him for green spots and fountains in the desert, and neither witnesses nor perhaps desires to know the sufferings and the crimes in his immediate vicinity. Ninety-nine facts of cruelty and oppression constitute to him a falsehood; but the hundredth fact of kindness or compassion gives the truth; or *vice versa*, if you please. Could Governor Hammond mean this? and if not, what does he mean?

And why should not Mr. Clarkson retort, and with reason ask what Governor Hammond can know of the condition of the laboring classes in Great Britain, of the state of things in the West Indies, or in the British possessions in the East? "I am not aware," says Governor Hammond, "that you have ever visited this country or the West Indies."—"I am not aware," says Mr. Clarkson in reply, "that you have ever visited this country or our West or East Indies. There is not an adult in Birmingham, in Jamaica, or in Calcutta, but knows more of the effect of our government in these places than you do. You may have ninety-nine facts, but recollect, sir, without the hundredth, they constitute a falsehood; that it is the *whole truth* which alone constitutes *the truth*, without which you are incapacitated forever from making an impression on the sober reason and common sense of the world."

Men of sober reason and common sense will judge of slavery as they judge of other states and conditions of human society, by the best lights they possess, or can obtain, of reason, testimony, observation, experience. If perfect knowledge of the *whole truth* is necessary to enable us to form opinions, in regard to these states and conditions, we must despair utterly of the achievement. Yet most men deem themselves competent to discuss the respective merits of different forms of government, and the relative value of different political and social institutions of which they have but read in history or heard from the oral or recorded testimony of those who have felt their influence or observed their operations. The general principles of such governments and institutions, general and particular facts connected therewith, their nature and causes, afford grounds for comparison and reasons for just general conclusions. And of this kind of reasoning Governor Hammond supplies numerous illustrations, not contending more earnestly for his theory, than immediately and

completely confuting it. He finds it most convenient to shelter himself under the authority of Scripture, since before such authority, if it exist, opposing argument is profane, and reason bows in silence. What are ninety-nine arguments against perpetual slavery and but one for it, if the infallible and mighty Word bids contradiction and argument alike cease?

"Innumerable instances (says Governor Hammond) might be quoted where God has given and commanded men to assume dominion over their fellow-men. But one will suffice. In the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus you will find domestic slavery—precisely such as is maintained at this day, in these States—ordained and established by God, in language which I defy you to pervert, so as to leave a doubt on any honest mind that the institution was founded by Him and decreed to be perpetual. I quote the words:—

"'Leviticus 25 ch. 44 vs.—Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen [Africans] that are round about you; of whom ye shall buy bondmen and bondmaids.

"'45 Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you which they begat in your land [descendants of Africans] and they shall be your possession.

"'46 And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession. THEY SHALL BE YOUR BONDMEN FOREVER.'

"What human legislature could make a decree more full and explicit than this? What court of law or chancery could defeat a title to a slave couched in terms so clear and complete as these? And this is the law of God whom you pretend to worship, while you denounce and traduce us for respecting it."

If this Jewish code be a law to us, it must certainly be received with its various restrictions and limitations. It must be shown that we occupy among the nations, at least toward the heathen, the position of the Jews; and then not only the foreign slave trade becomes lawful, but our own citizens may be sold for a period of six years to one another in cases of poverty or debt, while enslaved strangers and their descendants must, should they consent, be received by baptism (answering to circumcision) into the church, and thus reduce the period of their servitude and modify its character in accordance with that of the Hebrews themselves, while such as decline the rite, as well as all others, in case of escape, must in no instance be restored to their masters, but (according to most commentators and the testimony of Josephus) share, at the close of fifty years, in the emancipation of the Jubilee. And since the Jewish Theocracy has expired, whence is derived our authority for adopting the laws of slavery which prevailed among the Jews, unless all other nations (certainly Christian nations) may adopt the same? And by what right does Governor Hammond apply the words of the Jewish law to Africans and descendants of Africans, when the

slaves introduced among the Jews were a distinct people, the children of Canaan, upon whom alone was pronounced a curse, and from whom history shows that the Africans we enslave are not descended. While the argument from Jewish law would, if it had any force, be rather against than for a system of perpetual slavery such as exists in our country, we deem it of no validity; since, as has been well remarked, "under the glorious dispensation of the gospel, we are absolutely bound to consider ourselves as citizens of the world, and every man whatever, without any partial distinction of nation, distance, or complexion, must necessarily be esteemed our neighbor and our brother," and since the laws of Christian benevolence must tend to improve the condition, exalt the character, and conduce to the civilization, knowledge, liberty and happiness of the whole human race.

True, slavery, like political despotism, was tolerated by Christ and his apostles; they justify as permanent neither the one nor the other; and while abstaining from positive and indiscriminate denunciations of either, enjoin duties upon individual men, and proclaim principles of universal application to human society, which must of necessity finally subvert both. Their power was shown in the destruction of slavery, to a great extent, in the early ages of the church; the feudal systems of Europe wasted away before them; they planted civil and religious freedom on this continent; they have during the last fifty years pervaded a great portion of Christendom; and the flame of zeal and philanthropy they are kindling in ten thousand hearts, is immortal, and will at no distant period shine out on the whole world like the sun in his strength.

Ready as Governor Hammond is to adduce scriptural quotations in support of his theory, in one instance at least he exhibits a remarkable misapprehension of the ordinary meaning of the sacred language. Because God by the prophet Joel denounces vengeance against the Tyrians and Zidonians who had sold the children of Judah and of Jerusalem unto the Grecians, in these words:—"And I will sell your sons and daughters into the hands of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a people far off; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it,"—Governor Hammond asks, "Do you call this a condemnation of slave-trading? The prophet makes God himself a participator in the crime, if it be one." Can it be necessary to remind Governor Hammond that the evil passions and the worst crimes of men are represented in Scripture as the instruments of Divine displeasure; that the Assyrian king who is addressed by the Almighty as the rod of his anger and the staff of his indignation, who is to be sent against an hypocritical nation, and

charged "to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets," is himself an offense to his Maker, who declares, that when his whole work upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem is performed, he "will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the King of Assyria and the glory of his high looks." Let Governor Hammond read the 36th verse of the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, or the 11th verse of the 12th chapter of the 1st book of Samuel, and he will hesitate again to confound the acts of God's providential government in the control of moral evil, with the sanctions of his moral law.

Alluding to dangers to the Union, Governor Hammond writes, "and come what may, we are firmly resolved that our SYSTEM OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY SHALL STAND." The Northern Abolitionists are as much disposed to disunion for the overthrow, as Governor Hammond is for the preservation and perpetuation of slavery. These are the extremes. The great body of the American people will guard the Union, but they hope and expect, with the consent of the South, with due regard to the many great interests concerned, with a circumspect caution, and a prudent foresight as to the means, the final and entire abolition of slavery. This is a great moral end, to which the public mind is urged by causes and motives of irresistible force.

"Come what may, we are firmly resolved *that our* SYSTEM OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY SHALL STAND;" and who are "*we?*" A few politicians, or the small community of South Carolina, and here and there one in the other States of the South, educated in the same school. Can you erase from the New Testament, or the memory of man, those words of the Great Master of Christians, "Whatsoever ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so unto them," or make Christians believe it right to deny to three millions of slaves the privilege of reading them? Can you silence the whisperings of your own consciences, when you worship at His altar who took upon him the form of a servant and died in agony for the whole brotherhood of our race, thus opening, in a sense too high for words to express, the doors of the prison-house, and setting the captive free? Can you fortify your own purposes against the genial influences and all-subduing spirit of liberty, seen and felt in the breeze, the forest, the streams, the ocean, in all animated nature and all living forms, thundering from our mountains, breathing fragrance through our valleys, making even the songs of birds more sweet, illuminating the great charter of our Independence, and like a hidden but holy fire, vital in the whole frame of our National Constitution? Can you maintain your ground against the genius, the eloquence, the literature, the philanthropy of the age and the civilized

world? Above all, can you defend the *wrong* against the *right?* No! never! This system of slavery has within itself the seeds of decay and dissolution. On those who deem Liberty no blessing to themselves, or who believe that the African race are, by nature, incapable of understanding or enjoying it, such reflections may make no impression; but by those who admit the common origin, redemption, and destiny of the human race, they cannot be disregarded. If the thought of perpetual bondage for ourselves be repugnant to all our sentiments, it must be a condition to which we cannot benevolently wish to see others forever subjected. We are not to be understood as urging sudden emancipation, or as doubting the general humanity of the people of the South. We are for action on the part of the South, cautious, wise, prudent action, in preparation and for improvement. We wish all to believe that evils should be remedied, though it may require time to remedy them; that slavery is to be abolished, though there may be several, perhaps many steps, before that point can be reached. And who can tell that He who rules in human affairs, as upon the throne of Eternity, sees not in the distance the emancipated and instructed descendants of Africa hastening at the bidding and with the blessing and gifts of their masters, to repossess the land of their progenitors, to rebuild the desolate homes and repair the wastes of ages, to dispense the bread of life to the famishing, to wake new joy, to spread out new life and light and beauty, in that land of crime, slavery and despair?

Having said thus much in regard to what we deem erroneous in the views and arguments of Governor Hammond, we add that, like him, we marvel at the ignorance shown by Mr. Clarkson, in his recent address to the inhabitants of the United States, of our institutions, of events in our early and more recent history, of the sentiments of our citizens generally, and of the character and virtues of the people of our Southern States. He has derived his information, obviously, from no pure sources. It would be useless to attempt the correction of Mr. Clarkson's errors in this, or those not less numerous perhaps in his former address, or to remark very particularly upon the tone of authority with which this aged veteran in the anti-slavery cause assumes to instruct our countrymen. He evidently knows not the well-nigh universal and ardent attachment of our citizens to the Union, the respect and esteem cherished mutually by the citizens of the different States toward each other, and has not the slightest conception of the sympathy and humane concern felt by the people of the South in the physical comfort of the slave population, nor of the profound desire cherished by thousands who adorn all

their social relations, to fulfill, towards this dependent class, as the way may open before them, the highest requirements of Christian duty.

THE ABOLITIONISTS AND THE AMERICAN BOARD OF MISSIONS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, September,* 1845.]

Fifteen years ago the subject of slavery was discussed throughout the Union, under the banner of Colonization. That enterprise embraced good men through the free and the slave States, and most freely was the condition of the colored race canvassed. Although no philanthropist could say how the mighty curse was to be removed in all its broad dimensions, yet a plan was prosecuted by which it was removed at least from a few. A few colored families were removed, at their own desire, back to the land of their fathers, to a land whose warm climate and luxuriant productions fitted it for their residence. There they were, far from any organized society of white men to crowd upon them and domineer over them. Black was the only color there, and therefore no mark of degradation. In Liberia a negro was every inch a man. He was a freeman, a part of the nation, and of the government, and eligible to any post of honor or profit. His children were to grow up there, without ever having felt the crushing consciousness of inferiority, and the race, redeemed and disenthralled, were to take their stand as equals among the nations. In this state of things the abolition of slavery in the Federal District was earnestly discussed and pressed upon Congress, and some of the northern slave States were seriously considering whether they ought not to take measures for the extinction of slavery. The most eloquent and popular statesmen of Virginia and other States poured out their souls in burning eloquence in favor of the slave and the master, and against the intolerable burden of the relation which subsisted between them. The work went bravely on, and the seed so freely sown, and cherished by so many hands, seemed fast ripening to a plentiful harvest.

But there arose another set of philanthropists, more zealous, whose zeal amounted well nigh to fury. They could not wait for the slow process of the seasons, but would have the fields reaped now, and slavery abolished immediately. Many of them had been the earnest friends of Colonization, but the *ennui* of so slow a process disgusted them, and they seized the sickle and reaped. One earnest friend of Colonization had been to Europe, and ad-

vocated Colonization most eloquently, but when he came back, learning that he had put forth some doctrines not recognized by the society, he changed sides and fought against the plan with the same zeal with which he had contended for it. Another gentleman, who was a leading Colonizationist, learned to his great surprise that some spirituous liquors had been imported into Liberia, and he changed sides instantly, and became an earnest opponent of the cause which he had before promoted. What precise motives changed others, we cannot say; but it is evident that gentlemen who wheeled round on such pivots could not have had any clear comprehension of what they had been advocating, either before or after the revolution in their minds.

Well, what did these extra zealous men do for the *immediate* abolition of slavery?

First, As we have intimated, they denounced Colonization in the most vehement terms. That was a scheme, they said, "engendered in hell;" and as they had been the fathers of it, or at least its early nurses, they ought to know.

Secondly, They organized Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the free States.

Thirdly, They procured Abolition lecturers to go through the free States, and established Abolition presses, and so taught the people in all possible ways what they knew before, and convinced them of what they had never doubted.

Fourthly, They set up young women in rows, first a black one, and then a white one; they invited colored people to their tables at social parties, and to their pews in the churches, and so established the equality of the colors.

Fifthly, They carried the war into the churches of the various denominations, insisting that Christian slaveholders should not come to communion, nor preaching slaveholders into the pulpits; making the slavery question to supersede all other questions, and so "raised Ned and turned up Jack" in these previously more peaceful communities. By this they succeeded in abolishing the ties which existed between a considerable number of pastors and their people.

Sixthly, They had a negro boy, whom they did something with,—educated, if we remember right. We recollect distinctly that there was one such boy, whom we all confessed they had set free.

Seventhly, They fulminated all sorts of maledictions against the slaveholders of the South; classed them with pirates, robbers, murderers, and whatever else was most to be abhorred, and cursed them from the crowns of their heads to the soles of their feet, in their fingers and their toes, their knees and their elbows, and in

every other part to which the holy Pope of Rome extends his holy curses.

Eighthly, They gave aid and comfort to all fugitive slaves, and got out *habeas corpus* writs, and seized all such as happened to be found peaceably traveling with their masters within their precincts, and compelled them to be free. More recently they have constructed an "under-ground railroad," which, going down on the south side of Mason and Dixon's line, comes up on the north side of the line which separates the United States from Canada, and so have established a colony of freemen under the reign of Queen Victoria.

Ninthly, Not finding elements for sufficient war, out of themselves, they split asunder, and commenced fighting each other; going forth in guerilla parties, firing at anything which looked formidable, including the ministers, the churches, the Sabbath, the Bible, and above all the Constitution and the Union of these United States; setting up a Liberty party, and pulling down a Liberty party; getting some Liberty men into office, or at least keeping other men out, and so bothering the electors. In fact, the labor has so increased upon their hands, as to make it quite plain to them, that *everything* is to be abolished. If all things were back in chaos, then would Abolition be finished, and Garrison and Leavitt, rising above their fellows, proclaim, "the evening and the morning were the *eighth* day, and ALL'S VERY GOOD."

Among the objects of most furious attack in this war of Abolition, is the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The Board was formed for the specific purpose of sending the gospel to the heathen. Its labors of benevolence are all foreign, out of our own nation, except (if it be in any sense an exception) that it sends missionaries to the Indians. Whether this is more or less important than domestic missions, the Board does not say, but takes this department as one suitable for labor. It has followed up its design with great acceptance to the public generally, except the Abolitionists; who lay sundry charges upon the Board, viz., that the Board has not denounced slavery, but takes money of slaveholders to support missions, and even sends agents among them to ask them for it, and when they get it, mix up the black and the white money together, without distinction of color, just as the black and white girls were mixed up at the Chatham Chapel. They insist that the treasurer of the Board must interrogate every dollar as to its history, thus. "Hast thou in thy journeyings, dollar, ever visited that land of abominable sin and darkness which lies south of Mason and Dixon's line? Hast thou ever been paid as the price of immortal humanity, sold to sweat and groan in slavery? Hast thou ever

dwelt in the pocket of one of those monsters in human form who holds his fellow-men in bondage? If thou hast, thou art a polluted dollar, unfit to serve God or good men: thou canst not be admitted into the society of our honest money." If the dollar were to confess that it had been South to be sure, but had come back to a New York Abolitionist in payment for goods sold to slaveholders, it might be some mitigation. But whether the dollar might pass or not, the privilege of giving to so good a purpose as sending the knowledge of Jesus Christ to heathen nations is not to be allowed to slaveholders. They are so bad, that they are to be allowed to do no good thing. They may not contribute to any good object, nor labor in any good cause. Cut off and excommunicated, they are to be given over to the commission of sin, and only sin, and that continually. All they are allowed to do, is to repent and mind the Abolitionists. We do not think we have caricatured the position which has been assumed, nor do we think it susceptible of being caricatured. Nothing in all the range of imagination could be more absurd in our judgment, than the one really taken. First, that the Board, and in fact every society, and every church, shall be an Anti-Slavery Society. Ladies cannot meet to make clothes for poor children, but they must begin by passing some declaration about slavery; and the Board of Commissioners must stop its mighty work of civilization and Christianization, to have, first of all, an Anti-Slavery battle. The division of labor which so facilitates all other operations is not to be allowed in morals and religion, but everything must be one thing. The position really seems to be taken for no other purpose than because, on account of its exceeding absurdity, it is out of all possible reach of compromise, and so will serve for endless war. The Board, desirous of peace on all sides, and influenced by the fact that some of the heads which in the long war of Anti-Slavery have become so wretchedly twisted, were once good heads, and may possibly be so again, have listened to this folly, appointed committees on it, and more than once settled it by resolving the only thing which it was possible to resolve, viz.: that the subject of slavery did not come within the proper cognizance of the Board, their only business being the promulgation of gospel truth, which was also the readiest way to the correction of all moral wrong. Another great assault has been made upon the Board recently; and in all sorts of professions of kindness it is demanded that the subject shall once more be most lovingly settled. If anything can be settled with such men, so that it will stay settled, it is more than our experience would lead us to expect.

Now from this eminence, if it may be called so, this post of ob-

servation any how, we ask our readers to turn back and look at this war and its results. There have been mobs here, and in various other places. The lawful peace of Abolitionists has been violently interrupted, and their right of speech invaded; and on the other hand the Constitutional guarantees of the States toward the owners of slaves have been resisted and in a great measure practically abolished. Feelings of the most acrimonious kind have been engendered through the country for years, though happily a better state of feeling seems now to be gaining ground. What has it all accomplished? One of the chief arguments against Colonization in Africa was that the colored people were compelled to go. They did not act freely, and only chose that as an alternative. Has their Colonization in Canada been any less objectionable on the same score? When a slave runs away by the under-ground railroad, does he do it freely, or only as a choice of evils? Is he not in every sense compelled to run, and with a more absolute necessity than ever drove a man to Liberia? Is the condition of the negroes any better in Canada, than it was before in slavery? They are still a wretched, degraded, and shut-out race, doomed inevitably to perish, without hope for themselves or their children of ever rising to an acknowledged equality with their fellow-subjects around them. The free negroes in the slave States are a much more miserable race than the slaves, and if the fact that they become extinct in the free States proves anything, it proves that even here they are worse off than in slavery. We know that this is no reason for enslaving them, for every man, whatever be his color, is entitled to judge for himself in this respect. But it has something to do with the duty of philanthropists. To help a slave into a worse condition, however much he may desire it, is not so imperious a duty as to help him to real freedom. The system, at any rate, must have a deeper and broader remedy than colonization in Canada or anywhere among the whites, and we cannot help suspecting, perhaps illiberally, that the whole system of running off negroes is sustained quite as much for the sake of vexing the masters, as of benefiting the slaves.

Within the fifteen years of this war, for war it has been to the knife, the Washingtonian movement has come up, and a glorious temperance reformation has been accomplished; a most remarkable change has taken place in favor of the observance of the Sabbath; the whole world, except a part of the Roman Catholic and Greek Church States, has been opened to the free circulation of the Bible and its missionaries. Public opinion in our country has been completely revolutionized on the subject of the currency; and the true principles of political economy have otherwise

been much advanced; the change to cheap postage has been argued and carried; Puseyism has risen and fallen; the rights of men as individuals, to read, think, believe and speak, each one for himself, have been acknowledged as they never were before; the Bible has been attacked, and has successfully resisted the attack, and now exerts a wider influence than ever; in fact, in everything good, both in principle and practice, this fifteen years has been the most successful era in the progress of truth which the world ever knew. And yet slavery is not abolished in one single State, nor has the subject of Abolition, in our judgment, if it has advanced at all, kept any sort of pace with the other moral and political revolutions of the times. Now we propose, that after the measures for the abolition of slavery which are proposed to the Board of Commissioners shall once more, at the meeting soon to assemble at Brooklyn, have received the same answer as before, the other side shall be allowed to take up the game,—and if by the year 1860, we do not make a mighty inroad, and bring about a new era in slavery, we will acknowledge that the Abolitionists are the wise men, and hand them back their balls.

THE SYRACUSE CONVENTION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, Mar. 3, 1846.*]

The Abolitionists are in very great trouble. They have established the negroes in the comfortable climate of Canada, and otherwise pretty much abolished the sin of slavery in these United States; yet there are so many other things out of order, that the good men can have no peace. Abolition is the remedy for all diseases. Whatsoever will not obey, let it be abolished. The A. B. C. F. M. is now the chief object of attack. Before the meeting of this body at Brooklyn last fall, every preparation was made to abolish it, by a thundering discussion. But it turned out that the Abolitionists were themselves abolished, so that Mr. Phelps, when asked point blank whether slavery was always a sin, neither said yes nor no. But a few choice spirits, the very purest of the whole, the very high wines of gall, carry on the war the more fiercely for defeat. They held a convention at Syracuse a while ago, from which they poured forth their vials. These were men who once stood well, and were happy and useful, coöperating with good men. But the infection of Abolitionism appears to have perverted all their faculties. Among them were Gerrit Smith, Beriah Green, Alvan Stewart, and Dr. Lafon, formerly a missionary of the Board in the Sandwich Islands. The

latter gentleman has been off service for six or eight years, and seems to be chiefly engaged in slandering his brethren who keep to the work, some of whom have carried their anti-slavery feelings quite far enough. This Dr. Lafon, as we judge from the newspapers, sets himself up to contradict not only the missionaries, but scores of other men, who, as travelers, naval officers, and mariners generally, have given their testimony to the same facts.

At the late convention at Syracuse, statements were put forth, probably coming from Dr. Lafon, which some people think are a real "bomb-shell" thrown into the American Board. A letter writer from Syracuse to the New England Puritan says of the address of the convention—

"*If its alleged facts are true* it will unsettle the affections of the friends and supporters of the American Board in this region, quite extensively. My firm belief is, that its premises—the allegations against the Board, that it allows in the churches of its missions the abominations of 'polygamy, caste, oppression, slavery, idolatry, and all the various sins peculiar to their respective fields,' are not true."

It is wonderful how little sense there is among some sensible people. Who that has read the Acts of the Apostles and their Epistles to the churches formed of converts from idolatry, or that knows anything of human nature, can fail to understand these slanders? Certainly they are "not true" in the manner in which they are put forth. The impression they are intended to make, that the American Board sanctions polygamy and idolatry by the practice of its missionaries, is utterly false. The habits which have been worked into a man's character by all the actions and conduct of his life are not instantly eradicated by the most thorough faith in the Christian religion; nor does the exercise of such a faith at once free a man from the social entanglements in which idolatry had confined him. When he hears the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and with his heart and what intelligence he possesses accepts it, he has a new rule of duty and new objects of pursuit. But with regard to the ten thousand things which his old religion taught him, he has to learn that they are wrong by comparing them with his new rule, as by degrees he comes to understand it. How slow is the advance of society in truth, even where intelligence is already extensive, where the people read and hear continually! There are in this country now superstitions in current circulation and belief among intelligent Christians as preposterous as anything which was ever taught by paganism. Who that has labored to learn the truth with an ardent desire to adopt it on all subjects, has not detected from year to year in his own belief,

opinions which will not bear investigation for a moment, and yet thoughtlessly he has been governed by them all his life, until the moment of their detection. How long were we and our fathers in finding out that the slave trade was wrong; or that to urge every friend to drink intoxicating liquors was wrong! It is only now that the enlightenment of England has brought her people to know that the corn laws are oppressive and wicked. And how slow are Americans to confess that to our own protective tariff belongs the same condemnation! When an ignorant or a vicious man becomes a true Christian, he is not made a learned man, nor are his appetites, pampered by indulgence, at once made what they should be. But if the *heart* is right, the head will grow in knowledge, and a struggle will be commenced with wicked desires which may prevent them from outbreaks, but which must be carried on long and with vigor, before the rebels will give up. When a Catholic becomes a Protestant, how long must he dwell upon the real character of the Virgin Mary before he will cease to feel for her a reverence which Protestants call idolatrous.

No doubt there are in the churches formed by Christian missionaries from the heathen, the same remains of old customs and opinions, which made the apostles so much trouble in the primitive churches. A Sandwich Island chief may give the best evidence of Christian affections, and yet he may not have learned to put on decent apparel, or formed any tolerable notion about the rights of property between him and his people. A heathen man becomes a Christian, but he has two or three or five or six wives, and three times as many slaves. His acceptance of Jesus Christ by faith will not necessarily make him see that these relations are wrong,—and if he reads the Bible through, he will not only find neither of these relations specifically condemned, but both apparently sanctioned in the practice of the most applauded ancient saints. There is nowhere a word of disapprobation in the Bible of polygamy, unless the direction that bishops and deacons shall be each the husband of one wife, and *that* condemns bachelors as much as it does polygamists. But what if such light should enter his mind as would enable him to see that one wife is all that sound morality allows? The question is not whether he shall *take* more than one, but how shall he reduce the number. Which wife with her children shall he cast away from his protection? One would think that even the hard heart of an ultra-Abolitionist would allow him time to consider and provide for the condition which he desires, and not refuse him the benefit of Christian fellowship, merely because he is oppressed and distressed in searching for the path which will lead him out from his embarrassments. The condition of chiefs whose people are substantially

related to him as slaves, may not be more easy of decision by a sincerely honest and Christian heart.

No one whose last spark of common sense is not extinguished can doubt that slaveholders and polygamists, and dealers in alcoholic drinks besides, were admitted and recognized in the primitive churches without the thought that there was any "immorality" about them. Believers were *ipso facto* qualified members of the churches, and to associate with the Christians constituted church-membership in those days. Nor in the catalogue of characters excluded from the kingdom of heaven, are slaveholders, polygamists, and rumsellers mentioned, but *liars* are mentioned, and repeatedly, as among the most hateful in that terrific category.

The controversy of these Abolitionists, if such they are to be called after almost all Abolitionists have separated from them, reaches higher than the visible associations of professing Christians. The great and original offender is Jesus Christ himself, who in his kindness invites all sinners to him, and if they accept his invitation, receives them, heavy laden though they be with ignorance, false opinions, and bad habits, not even asking any questions about these tests of the revilers. If He accepts them and they unite themselves with other Christians, they *are* in the church by His authority, and He is responsible for His own acts. Let the assailants attack the real object of their hate.

In the ranks of the Syracuse convention there were men who hold political meetings on the Sabbath as a regular matter. Where do they belong in the list of offenders against religion and good morals? To be sure, they sanctify their politics by calling over religious words, but, after all, it is a mere matter of electing themselves and those they like, to political office. An ordinary Tammany Hall meeting on the Sabbath would be no more a violation of the day. To what depths of inconsistency and wickedness will not men sink, who forsaking the path of Christian kindness and duty, set themselves up to revile and calumniate their fellow-citizens and fellow-Christians! What a warning are these men, once active in the labors of Christian benevolence, which they now oppose with such mad desperation! Nothing is too useful to escape their slanders. They are not reformers, but abolishers. One would think that the American Board, the largest channel through which American Christians send out the Bible and missionaries, and useful instruction of every kind to the degraded nations of paganism, would fill even a fanatic, in his worst paroxysms, with a respect which would check his ravings. But the American Tract Society has been able to stand through a similar attack, and we have no doubt the American Board will

come off safe from this assault, furious as it is, and injurious as it may be, perhaps, in the beginning.

We are aware that articles of this sort belong rather to the religious papers. But there is not one of them upon which any great institution for the promotion of the welfare of the world can rely. And such institutions as the American Tract Society, and the Board of Commissioners, in their very structure, are unable to meet in a proper way such assailants as have made war upon them. It seems therefore to devolve of necessity, upon the secular newspapers to set these matters right,—while the religious newspapers fiddle, each one upon the string of their own sect, though all the great institutions of the country were perishing in incendiary fires.

SLAVERY AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL BODIES.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, June* 17, 1846.]

For the last fifteen years we have had the most intolerable tempest that ever raged, about slavery metaphysics. The Baptist and Methodist national organizations have been broken in sunder, and the churches of all denominations which have been unwise enough to admit the debate, have been kept in violent agitation. Recently both the Presbyterian General Assemblies had the matter up, and the New School Assembly spent a couple of weeks, more or less, in discussing it. D.D.'s have written pro and con, until the subject is not only threadbare, but worn to tatters. Well, what have we, as the end of all the tumult? Why, a general agreement that slavery is a very bad system, under which enormous wrongs are done, and yet that there are some cases in which it is right for individuals to hold slaves, so that the holding of slaves is not in itself and of necessity in every single instance, wrong. This, we say, is the general and tolerably unanimous conclusion; that is to say, the opinion of the whole North, and a majority of the South, is just exactly what it was twenty, forty, fifty, a hundred years ago. If anything, slavery is looked upon with rather less abhorrence than it was before this discussion commenced; for many extravagant opinions which persons were quite willing to adopt, have been corrected by better information. Jefferson said in reference to the great wrongs of slavery, "I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just." No sentiment stronger than this has been established since. In our judgment, this long-protracted, vindictive, wicked agitation only leaves public sentiment where it found it. Public sentiment was

right at the beginning, is right now, and ever will be. So now let those who think the subject worthy of their labors, write on, talk on, labor on. If they can change public opinion, or elicit one particle of light further, they will exceed our expectations.

It is most wonderful that Christian churches at the North should ever have allowed the subject of southern slavery to disturb them. It is with them altogether a foreign and distant subject, with which, as churches, they had nothing to do. It is as much out of order in a church-meeting, as the tariff or a national bank. Both these are moral, and if you please religious questions, (for anything can be made so.) If men will consider the nature of Christian churches and the designs for which they are formed, they will see that those designs do not include such matters. If it were not for the clerical bodies, who perhaps take up slavery for want of anything really useful on hand, we might now at once be rid of the Anti-Slavery disturbance. But if a bull comes roaring from Caledonia, and another from Canada, and the ecclesiastical judicatories here will give them stable-room, and all the great divines talk about them, and write about them, why then the noise will go on. The New School General Assembly thought they had settled the question at the late meeting by adopting the resolutions of the Rev. Dr. Duffield, who has a very excellent faculty on such occasions of writing resolutions, which amount to nothing. So the dancing question was settled very amicably three years ago in the same body, by adopting the same gentleman's resolution that "*promiscuous* dancing" was unbecoming among Christians. This was considered as very distinctly condemning checked-apron balls, and such other associations *in connection* with dancing as all respectable people take care to keep clear of. As to the slavery resolutions, we judge by the New York Observer, that it is very likely their meaning, if they have any, is so dubious that all parties, on second thought, will be liable to be dissatisfied. For ourselves, much as we have written during this furious war, we have never attempted to prove slavery to be either right or wrong; for we knew it would be a waste of labor. And what we wish now particularly to impress on the gentlemen who are laboring so earnestly in this business, is the fact that they accomplish nothing. They do not change public opinion, and cannot. Why then keep up a useless agitation, even by writing well, when no possible good can come of it? It would certainly be a great favor to the agitated churches to be left at rest. The moral and religious interests of the world demand something besides controversy, and especially that about foreign topics.

USE OF ABOLITIONISM.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 14, 1847.]

TWENTY years ago the cause of Colonization was unusually popular. Real abolition was also gaining ground rapidly, so that but for the storm of fanaticism which arose in the East, slavery would probably have been abolished before this, in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky. If it had been so, the colony of Liberia would have been overrun and utterly ruined in all probability, by hordes of emancipated negroes, in all the vice and feebleness of recently emancipated slaves. Barbarism would have amalgamated the colony with the neighboring tribes, and everything would have been lost. But Abolitionism came in to stay the ruinous prosperity. It has stayed emigration to Africa, until the colony and its principles have taken deep root. A government has been established, and is in the hands of colored men, who have managed their own affairs until they have satisfied themselves and the world of their ability for republican self-government. Schools and churches, and their necessary organizations, have been operating for years. Society in all its great departments is organized, opinions formed, and principles established. Society is fairly in motion upon its own axis, with its centrifugal and its centripetal forces accurately balanced. The civilized nations have looked on, and learned to respect the effort, and everything seems approaching the crisis when practical Abolition and Colonization may act together as they once did, and upon a vastly enlarged scale. The chief thing to be regretted among the effects of the Abolition fanaticism, is, that it has prevented so many intelligent and property-owning blacks from emigrating. Liberia wants them, and to supply their place by liberated slaves requires years of training. Still, the success has been great. When the colony of New Amsterdam had been established as long as that of Liberia, it numbered only two hundred and fifty inhabitants, and they in a most miserable plight. The Dutch in all that time had established absolutely nothing but mismanagement and ruin. But the colored emigrants have established everything, and are speedily to become an independent people, standing in high honor among the Christian nations of the earth. Already they number several thousand inhabitants, and are rapidly increasing in wealth, intelligence, and sound morals. They will soon be able to endure a large emigration. What if the emigration from the old nations had poured into this country two hundred years ago, as it does now, or has done at any time for twenty years past? The Yankee character would have been buried beneath an avalanche of Irishmen and

Germans. The hopes of the world were not thus to be blasted. The days of high prosperity were postponed until the new principles of our fathers had been put into successful operation, and had worked so long that the nation had come to trust in and praise them. The Bible men have also had time to organize all their institutions, and to spread themselves over a vast surface, taking the lead, and shaping all the affairs of society. Now we are ready for the *miserables* of all nations. They now come full of admiration of our institutions, and determined to support them, though they often make clumsy work of it.

THE OLD THREADBARE COAT.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, December* 6, 1847.]

The Boston Recorder has "the pleasure to announce, that Rev. Dr. Waterbury, of that city, will, in their next paper, commence a series of articles on the subject of slavery." We confess our wonder that so many ministers should think it their duty, in these days, to write a "series of articles" upon a subject which has been discussed and hammered and mobbed, until everything which could be said has been said a thousand times, —a subject too, which must continue to be discussed, in its events and management, until it ceases to exist. Slavery was abolished as a curse, an abomination, throughout New England long years ago. What else is thought of it now? What new opinion has been formed about it? In our judgment the public sentiment has not been advanced one inch by all that has been done. The odium of color, the real degradation of the negro race, has not been abolished in a single free State. There is not one of them in which the public sentiment is not more unkind toward the negro, than it is in any slaveholding State. Where are negroes recognized as men equal to the whites? Where do they vote upon the great rule of individual human right? A grudging pittance of justice, dealt out from domineering and arrogant hands, is all they can obtain. There is not a spot in all the free States, in which a respectable white girl could marry the most respectable man with one drop of negro blood in his veins, without being turned out of white society, for her rebellion against public sentiment. When such a state of things exists towards free blacks after such protracted discussion, we are in a poor position to discuss slavery; certainly with the violent imputations of wrong towards slaveholders, which have so generally characterized Northern discussion. We all agree to any verdict against slavery, which any one of its enemies will bring

in. "So say you, Mr. Foreman; so say you all, gentlemen," shall have our unanimous and instantaneous assent. We will hang it, drown it, or burn it, anything you ask, we will decree. Then, what more do the wise men contemplate? The best men of the slaveholding States, the wise men, the pious men, the thorough Abolitionists, beg us at the North to cease the agitation of this subject. They assure us unanimously that our agitation creates a prejudice which paralyzes their efforts. They say that Abolition violence has for the time tainted and poisoned Northern opinions, so that even in the bitter spirit which now prevails, nothing but a pro-slavery effect is produced by our anti-slavery discussions. We know that the anti-slavery bitterness has taken such deep root in many New England churches, that the pastors, (many of whom planted the root themselves,) are teased and scolded because they do not "come out" against the awful sin of slavery. How many of them write for the papers, and so do mischief for the sake of pacifying domestic tempers, we cannot say. That may be a good reason in some cases, and if any minister or layman has anything to say which has not been said at least a thousand times, we will not object to his saying it until that number is made up. Nor do we intend to say that slavery is not a subject to be discussed. But we have a right to show to Northern men, that their discussions are mischievous, if we think them so. This is as much our right, as any part of the discussion is the right of any one.

We said that the subject must continue to be discussed in any event. The incidents which occur in reference to it will not only keep up a discussion, but an agitation. In calm discussion we are heartily glad to see the good old days of Colonization coming up again, and taking a lead as it did years ago. The people of the South are carrying on a discussion among themselves, and trying to recover the position which they occupied twenty years ago. Why not listen, as far as the abstract question is concerned at least, to the men there who are striving to bring about some measure for the removal of the intolerable burden from them? Of the sincere desire of Mr. Clay and his associates in Kentucky, for instance, to abolish slavery in that State, there can be no doubt. It seems to us, standing as they do, they have a right to claim that their advice should be heeded, and respectfully weighed. The physical and moral progress of the world are pressing harder and harder upon slavery. This progress must and will be discussed in all its tendencies. There is enough to do, in connection with events, and in striving to guide them right. The anti-slavery agitation, conducted as it has been, has been the worst thing for the interests of religion at the

North, which those interests have endured for half a century. The great mass of Christian people have become utterly sick of it. We wish the ministers were as sick as the people. Many of them are.

CHURCH POLITY AND ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTIONS.

For the last ten years of his life, Mr. Hale took a special interest in the discussion of questions relating to the nature and constitution of the Church, its officers, the rights, duties and privileges of its members, the terms of Christian communion, and the means of spreading the gospel among men. His articles on these subjects, though deficient in historical research and Biblical criticism, yet as an exposition and defense of great principles, are not surpassed perhaps by any writings in the language. As they were generally called forth by some passing incident, and have no immediate connection with each other, they are here arranged in the order of time. Several dissertations on these topics, never before published, which were intended to form a new number of Mr. Hale's occasional sheet, called "Facts and Reasonings," are introduced in a body by themselves.

CHURCH POLITICS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, February* 14, 1838.]

A Convention of clergymen was recently held at Worcester, Mass., "for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the clergy of the county, on the subject of American Slavery." About eighty reverend gentlemen, of various denominations, assembled, and after a good clerical squabble, they so far agreed as to be able to adjourn for six weeks. We are happy to say that about half the clergy of the county preferred to stay away. The great

trouble with this clerico-political Convention was the want of liberty of speech; and yet, judging from the reports, they appeared to exercise quite as much liberty as was for the credit of their vocation, or the good nature of their own feelings. Mr. Trask said, "He was in favor of a holy excitement. We can accomplish nothing without it. It is said, likewise, that we shall involve the clergy in politics. He ever had been, and ever meant to be, a politician—a Christian politician." And the churches, we suppose, are to be primary political associations, boiling with anti-masonry, or temperance, or abolition. Ladies shall send up their sweet names to soften the hard hearts of politicians at Washington, and the clergy, with muskets, well charged, fight the battles of the —— race. One of them tried it, and found shooting a game that two could play at. We can tell the reverend clergy, that if proceedings like what have been witnessed among them for two or three years past are to be continued, their black coats are destined to be dreadfully rolled in the dirt. It is matter of deep regret that so many of the clergy of this county have turned aside from the proper duties of their profession, and set themselves to the cultivation of all sorts of contention.

In their proper sphere, the clergy are the most useful of all men. But out of it, they always manage badly. They have been bad politicians the world over. While they labor within the proper province of their high and holy vocation, they ought to be exempt from newspaper assaults, and from harm, in any way, from the belligerent parties in the world's contests. But if they are so fond of fight as to take arms and enter the field, we care not how severe is the drubbing which they get.

One thing seems to us certain. If things go on as they are now going, the religion of Jesus Christ will need to be established *de novo*, in our land. The great business of the present organization has, to a lamentable extent, become something very different from the original design for which churches were constituted and religious ordinances set up.

ECCLESIASTICAL DOMINATION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, November* 22, 1838.]

The world knows something of the doings in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia. We had supposed, and we believe it was generally supposed, that after the split which took place there, the various Presbyterian churches of the country would be permitted to arrange themselves as they might choose with one or the other General Assembly. But it

seems a different course has been resolved upon, and that the Old School men have determined to pursue the game into all its hiding-places, and never to rest until the split is run into the remotest ramification of the church. In furtherance of this policy, the Presbytery of New York, as we learn on good authority, have taken it upon themselves to depose the Rev. Dr. Cox, of Brooklyn, and declare his pulpit vacant! The church and congregation of which he is pastor, would have been entirely harmonious but for this quarrel among the clergy in what is called the "Supreme Judicatory of the Church," and notwithstanding this quarrel, only two of the session, which is composed of seven, and a small number of laymen, are disaffected. The great majority of the church and congregation, and their officers, are attached to their pastor, and not disposed, any more than their pastor, to enter into any controversy about Presbyterian paper. But the Presbytery demand that Dr. Cox should give in his adhesion to the Old School General Assembly as the only true and genuine body, notwithstanding the amicable division of the Synod which took place recently at Newburgh, by which Dr. Cox and his church had ceased to belong to the body which now attempts to depose him. Dr. Cox could not of course recognize the supremacy of the Old School General Assembly, and for this he was deposed, and the small minority of his session and people declared to be *the* session and church. We understand a member of the Presbytery was designated to obtrude himself into the pulpit on Sunday next, and proclaim the doings of the ecclesiastical tribunal, and inform the people that they must elect another pastor.

Ordinary theological discussions or church proceedings do not come within the proper scope of the business press. But we think such an affair as this is so much a question of general right and common liberty, that every press which stands as the guardian of popular rights at all, is at liberty and is bound to use whatever influence it has, by way of resistance. If we must submit to ecclesiastical tyranny such as this, then we are for moving West, to see if there may not be another Plymouth Rock somewhere, upon which we may set our feet, with the hope of raising again the spirit of the pilgrims where it may be sustained with better hopes. But such things will not be submitted to; and although we have now no adequate channels for discussing the subject before the public, the necessity will provide them. To talk of civil and *religious* liberty under such measures, if they could be enforced, would be idle. But they cannot be enforced, thanks to the *political* guarantees of the country. The courts will not permit rights to be thus trampled upon. If the Presbytery of

New York choose to declare a pulpit vacant in violation of the wishes of both the pastor and the people, they can do so. It is only showing what they would do if they could. But if any Rev. D.D. should dare to interfere with the public worship of a religious assembly and attempt to take possession of their pulpit for the purpose of announcing any such ecclesiastical decree, it would be the duty of such a congregation to call in the nearest police officer, if there were none present, to seize the offender and take him off to jail, where, with liberty to study the laws of the land, he might become a good citizen. If all the laws of goodness contained in the Bible fail to curb the bad passions of those who are the teachers of religion, then they must learn of another statute book. We hope there is a large portion of the Presbyterian Church who have no notion of submitting to these monstrous wrongs of clergymen ambitious of universal dictation. It is high time that this determination were fully announced, and the clergy sent back to their proper business. There are no men more useful than they, while with meekness, and kindness, and wisdom, they feed the flocks over which they are placed; but out of this their proper sphere, they have ever been the most dangerous class in society. We are for keeping them in their places and about their proper calling.

THE CONGREGATIONALIST.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, February* 12, 1839.]

Two papers have been started at Hartford, Connecticut, with this name. We have not seen enough of them to know very thoroughly how either will be conducted, but we are glad to see the banner of Congregationalism hoisted broadly before the world. It is the banner of our Puritan fathers; the banner of peace, of liberty, of brotherly love, and Christian energy. More of the New England character grows out of its religious organization, than people are aware of. The influence of that organization is felt upon every citizen, though only a minority are church members. If liberty is worth anything and useful anywhere; if men may be trusted to govern themselves; or if self-government is a thing to be desired under any circumstances, it would seem that a Christian church affords those circumstances. Churches are very apt to include some self-righteous men and women, some self-conceited persons, and perhaps some hypocrites, or at least persons who are no better than they should be, and not so good by a great deal as they think themselves to be.

But after all, churches generally are at least a little select. There is not in them so large a proportion of ignorance nor vice, nor bad habits, as in the political community at large. If political society, when it governs itself, after all its faults, makes up a better government than any other which could be made up for it, then we think churches will be best governed when they govern themselves. We know there are many men who think society unfit to govern itself, and they generally suppose that it would be a great blessing to their country, if only they could themselves just govern everybody else. But so far as we have been acquainted with such men, either in or out of the church, we have not thought their views of government of that liberal cast, and their feelings of that enlarged benevolence, which made us desirous of putting our country or even ourselves entirely into their hands. There is, too, this strange contradiction in their logic, that while they think men incapable of governing themselves, they still think that some men are not only exceptions to this incapacity, but such exceptions, that they are able besides governing themselves to govern all other men. The history of the world has proved that those who have been clothed with absolute authority were in general the very worst persons who could have been selected for that purpose, or else, that to clothe a man with such authority does of itself spoil him and render him unfit for its exercise.

Our fathers thought self-government a most desirable thing, not merely as a personal matter to themselves, but in its influence upon society and the destiny of their posterity. They declared that men were born free, and in their political relations equal; and that sovereignty is in the people, and to be exercised by them. They took great pains to guard self-government so that it should never be lost. They determined that no man should ever be tried for any crime, but by a jury of his *equals;* that nothing should be done to interrupt the freest exercise of speech or the press, and that the people should always have the uninterrupted right to meet for the discussion of public measures, and to form such associations with regard to them as they should deem best. When so large a number of people were to act in regard to matters of government, that the whole mass could not assemble in one place, they provided that the people should, in the exercise of the most perfect freedom, choose delegates to represent their local divisions and various interests; but so jealous were they of abuses by these delegates, and so well did they understand how power corrupts the mind and engenders tyranny, that they required all these delegates to resign their trusts into the hands of the people again, fully and entirely, after

only very short terms of office. Most of their officers and representatives were elected for one year only, some for only half a year, and very few for more than two ye[illegible] Self-government, secured by the free exercise of all these [illegible]lienable rights," they considered so important, that to gain and keep the blessing, they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. Sooner than submit to anything else, they were ready to sacrifice all that men count dear on earth. Congregationalism adopts these views, and acts upon them. The Congregational churches of New England are the most perfect exhibitions of self-government that are to be found on earth. Each church is a community of itself,—an independent sovereignty,—rendering to all the churches around it the charities of good neighborhood and Christian affection, but acknowledging no authority over itself anywhere out of itself, except in God. No officers are clothed with any power to *rule*. The pastor, deacons, and the members, each and all, enjoy the influence which wisdom and goodness procure, and no more. The pastors are of course treated with respect, unless by misconduct they forfeit their claims; and if they do their duty as good men, they enjoy an affectionate regard and confidence, and exert an influence over their people, which mere power never can confer. As to all the rest, he has most influence who has most piety and most wisdom, allowing something of course to wealth, which everywhere confers a certain amount of influence. But nowhere on the face of the earth, have wisdom and goodness a more predominating sway than in the New England churches. The result of a system so free, and bearing so equally on all, is to bring the wisdom of all into the common stock for the common good. The experience of the aged, and the zeal of the young, the prudence of the timorous, and the daring of the brave, all mingle together, and, in general, harmoniously. Under such circumstances, men learn to differ in opinion without alienation of heart, and minorities acquiesce cheerfully in the decisions of majorities, for they have none of the corrosive feeling that they have been abused or oppressed, but they know that everything has been done fairly. Under such circumstances it comes about more than anywhere else, that every member becomes acquainted with all the common interests of the association, and gets his feelings engaged for their advancement. In the discussions about the common good in a system so free, the powers of the mind are enlarged, and the heart made better. The modest and timid are encouraged, and many a young man finds out his powers of thought and argument, and even of eloquence, and gets confidence in himself, and becomes a man of tenfold more importance in society than otherwise he

would have been. These associations possess in themselves the quality of perpetual youth, or, at any rate, of recovering that state if for a time old age should creep upon them. If some man, who in his youth acquired influence, holds on to it injuriously when he grows old, and if in growing old he loses the ardor of his youth and becomes selfish, his influence at farthest dies when he dies. He has no power to associate others around himself who can perpetuate the same chilling control. When he is gone, the field of influence is open again, and the church is set entirely free. The peace of the New England churches is not the peace of Rome or Spain, or of any other place where stern government prevents discontent from manifesting itself; it is not the peace of death, nor of slavery, nor of subjugation, but of active good will, of intelligent contentment, and of vigorous coöperation. Who that has a heart would not rather have influence in such a society, than all the power that official *rule* could give him?

We think our readers can see in all this a system to make men of honesty, of liberality, of intelligence and energy,—to make, in fact, YANKEES, just such as Yankees are. We think they can see that more of the Yankee character grows out of Congregationalism, than they have before supposed, and that it is a system more important to the literary, political, mercantile, and all other interests of our country than they have been aware of. The very generosity which the system inspires has induced New England men to yield to other systems when they have left their native land. There have not been wanting, too, in New England, men who, lacking the true spirit of the society and institutions around them, have been disposed to recommend other systems, which confer more power on a few. There are some evils in a Congregational society, as there will be in all societies; and some persons have been inclined to think that greater power conferred on a few would remedy these evils; and so there has prevailed extensively in New England a certain degree of favor towards more governing systems. Some clergymen, when pestered by the exercise of too much liberty among their people to be consistent with their notions of their own dignity, or, perhaps, when really dealt hardly by, have thought how very satisfactory it would be, if only they had the power to reduce such uncomfortable liberty to subjection and silence. The aristocratic feeling has been carried so far in fact at home, that the perfect simplicity of Congregationalism has been marred in several counties in Connecticut, and we believe in Rhode Island, by the introduction of a sort of mongrel hierarchy under the name of "Consociation." The design is the same as that of all other hierarchies, viz:—to give *power* to the clergy; a result

which the experience of the world, and especially of the Christian Church, has proved to be most disastrous to its interests. We hope the churches who have been led unthinkingly to adopt this false principle, though it be but in a comparatively moderate degree, will throw it off immediately and entirely. If they believe in self-government, let them adhere to that beautiful principle. But if they think themselves unable to govern themselves, let them adopt the blessings of being governed to the full, and choose a Pope at once. There is no midway point between the two extremes, where sense and reason can meet. Men should govern themselves, or they should be governed, wholly and entirely. The principle is good for everything, or it is good for nothing. There is no making it better by mixing.

As there is no political government on the whole so efficient for all good purposes and so inefficient for bad ones as a government of the people, so it is in religious matters with Congregationalism. Wealth and talents and family may sometimes protect a bad church member from the censures which his misconduct demands; but on the whole there will be fewer such cases than under any other system. There will be, and there is, more tenderness toward the weak and ignorant when they fall, and more stern and unflinching faithfulness in dealing with the powerful, than is to be found elsewhere. This is proved by the fact, that to be excommunicated by a Congregational church is a much deeper disgrace, and is set down as a more certain evidence of bad character, than the excommunication of any other tribunal. If injustice is done even there, it is generally brought about by the clergy, and not by the people. Indeed the good sense and rectitude of the people are in most cases an overmatch for all such attempts, and with very few exceptions the minds of the clergy remain uncontaminated to any dangerous degree with the love of domination, and they lead in ways of generosity and faithfulness. Congregationalism avoids contention as far as it is possible to do so, and on the whole provides the best possible means of putting an end to it when it exists. Each church has its own troubles and no more. It is not obliged to take part in contentions out of its own limits, originating perhaps at a distance, and about matters in which it feels little or no interest. If contentions spring up, as unhappily they will, the consciousness which both parties feel that they are accountable to the people, puts them at once on their good behavior; and as there is no grand system of religious judicatories and appeals, there is no machinery for prolonging controversy, and no special grandeur and importance given to persons merely from the fact of their being litigants. As there are no courts which can compel the

attendance of parties before them, public sentiment demands that controversies which cannot otherwise be settled shall be submitted to arbitration, and he who refuses the advice of other churches when he himself can choose half the advisers, is apt to be suspected, from the fact, of being conscious that his cause is a bad one. When other churches are invited to assist by their advice in the settlement of difficulties, they do not become parties. Their position is that of friends to both parties. It is not their quarrel, and no power can compel them to take part in it as their own. Over the whole system, the clergy, by their Associations in counties and their General Associations in States, exert a wide influence, which, though there is no authority in it, acts with a real efficiency which ought to be entirely satisfactory to them.

We are happy to say that Congregationalism in fact pervades, and is the plan of all the religious denominations of New England, except that of the Methodists. They have a government much less in accordance with our free political institutions. The Baptists are everywhere Congregationalists, and Episcopacy, in this country, though it retains considerable pomp and circumstance, has nevertheless very wisely assimilated itself to our institutions in other respects, and based itself very distinctly upon the good will, the protection, and the supreme control of the people. Indeed, in some respects the Episcopal clergy are more dependent on the people, than in Congregationalism itself.

We have taken much pleasure in writing this article, as we always do in contemplating in this way the happy institutions of liberty, especially of Bible liberty,—the liberty and equality which Jesus Christ has taught us, and exemplified by his example as well as his precepts. We think we have very amply sustained the declaration with which we set out, that "the banner of Congregationalism is the banner of peace, of liberty, of brotherly love and Christian energy!" We hope we have done something to remove from the minds of those who look on the New England policy as dangerous, their groundless fears, and from the minds of our readers who are Congregationalists, the impression, if they have it, that there are other systems better than that, or as good as that, or anything like as good as that, in its practical results. Such opinions we are deeply convinced are entirely erroneous. We had a spice of them ourselves once, when we lived in New England and had no opportunity for a practical comparison of different systems; and we have not been cured of those notions by disappointment or pique, but, as we think, by a calm observance, under advantageous circumstances, of the workings of various systems. Those notions were entertained thought-

lessly; they have been eradicated thoughtfully, and upon more perfect knowledge. They are, at any rate, cured so effectually, that we have come to consider the Congregationalism of New England as above all price in its effects upon character and the destiny of our country and the world. And we hope that wherever the sons of New England go hereafter and establish their religious institutions, they will hoist the banner of Congregationalism high, and nail it to the mast, and rally around it without a thought of its abandonment. Let their religious policy be founded in the largest liberty, and the most entire sovereignty of the people. It is their duty to their Puritan forefathers; it is their duty to themselves, and not less so to their country. It is their duty to the Christian religion and the founder of that religion, Jesus Christ himself, whom alone they are at liberty to call Master.

We hope, therefore, that the newspapers in Hartford, to which we alluded at the outset, will be conducted in a manner worthy of the high title which they have assumed, and that they will teach their readers to stand by their personal rights in religious as well as political matters, not for the sake of themselves merely, but in the discharge of high duty, from which, as American Christians, they cannot excuse themselves.

CONGREGATIONAL HOME MISSIONS.

[*From the Congregational Observer*, 1841.]

It has long been a matter of complaint among the best friends of Congregationalism, that there is among us too little attachment to our distinctive principles. Our denomination have differed from most others in this respect. While a commendable degree of zeal has been manifested in sustaining great principles of Christian doctrines, and a disposition, when required, to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, we have overlooked the importance of standing firmly by those principles of order and religious liberty, which our fathers suffered so much in rescuing from the rubbish which had overlaid them. And we have often inquired, why is this apathy? We venerate our ancestry; we laud them for their self-sacrifice, and their noble achievements; while we undervalue thefruits of their labor, and the glorious legacy which they left us. We have asked, why has not more interest been felt, to keep our people, and especially our young people, well instructed as to our distinctive principles? Why do not intelligent members of our churches take more pains to inform themselves, and diffuse information on these subjects?

Many causes have contributed to produce this apathy. But we can think of none which has done more than our policy with regard to home missions at the West. We have taken the lead of the rest of the country, in regard to our contributions to this cause, and we have suffered Presbyterians to lead us in their distribution. We have treated it as a matter of indifference in the planting of the churches, whether we erected them on the basis of our own principles, or on one very different. Nay, our young men have gone to the West, expressly advised by our fathers here, to throw off their Congregationalism, and bring their minds, as best they could, to conform to Presbyterianism. And when our brethren, the members of our own families and churches, have gone westward, and sent back for our aid in rearing Christian institutions after our model, now made more dear to them by their removal, and by the recurrence of their fond remembrance to the scenes of their childhood, we have sent them the means of building institutions that must be strange, and averse to their early associations. And thus we have brought forward a generation of them, that, as it were, speak one half in the speech of Ashdod, and one half in the Jews' language. And so far as the gratification of their early associations is concerned, they have asked of us bread, and we have given them a stone.

Now this fact has had its effect upon our churches and our children at home. It is equivalent to our saying to them, that our distinctive principles are not worth preserving. This language is virtually held, every time we contribute our funds to sustain other institutions, when we send our young ministers to the West, under advice to abandon the New England institutions, and in all that we do, in preferring Presbyterian institutions to our own.

Now if no other cause than this were in operation, it were a matter to be expected, that our people would come to regard our own institutions as hardly worth the pains needful to their preservation. And this feeling, once introduced, does not stop with our relations to Presbyterians, who hold the same distinguishing doctrines with us. But it begets a state of indifference, which exposes us to inroads from sects who reject these doctrines. It has done much to foster a laxity of feeling as to religious principles, and thus to weaken the churches planted by our fathers. We are wasting their heritage by this well-meant but mistaken policy. We are giving every propagator of error an advantage against our own children, by instilling into these children the belief that our own institutions are not seriously to be valued above others.

We know it will be said, that the sustaining of the doctrines

is more important than principles of church government. But principles of order are necessary to the sustaining of doctrines; and we cannot attain the end without the means. Let this indifference as to principles of order prevail, and confusion, and every evil work, would, ere long, come in, and the doctrines would go under a cloud. We much mistake, if the unfortunate union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists has not done much to introduce confusion and heresy into both denominations, in those regions where the union exists.

CONGREGATIONAL HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

[*From the Congregational Observer, Dec.* 18, 1841.]

Messrs. Editors:—The controversy about Congregational Home Missions is getting so fierce that the dust which rises will, I fear, hide the real matter at issue. It is better, as you say, to keep cool, and not only on this, but on all other subjects of Christian discussion. I had reason to thank you for presenting my views in favor of a separate organization very early in this discussion. I hope you will allow me now to endeavor to bring the minds of your readers back to the real question. Those who think Congregationalists should carry on their Home Missionary operations distinct from Presbyterians claim that their object is none other than the glory of God and the salvation of men. I do not see therefore why the movement should be stigmatized, or perhaps I should say if I would keep clear of the same fault, denominated "sectarian." Nor do I see why it should be called a "crusade." It is as easy to call a thing by one name as another, but the common way and the fairest way is to let every child wear the name given by its father.

I suppose all Congregationalists will desire to adopt that mode of operation which will most honor God in the salvation of the largest number of our fellow-citizens. The inquiry is, how shall we soonest plant Christian institutions all over our country, and plant them in such a form that they will flourish through all time. I think our country will be much more largely blest by the separate action of Congregationalists. I believe that if you plant your churches Presbyterian, they will grow old and decrepit; but if you plant them Congregational, they will flourish in constant youth and vigor; that in fact if our country is to be a vigorous Christian country, its churches must be organized as Congregational churches. I know that while Congregationalists

acted separately they did spread Congregationalism, but that the union with Presbyterians has transformed almost all the churches so formed into Presbyterian churches. If there had never been a union, I believe New York, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, would now have been Congregational States; but the union has prevented this and made all these States Presbyterian. These statements I believe will hardly be controverted by any one on the other side. Certainly, then, those Congregationalists who come forward with statements so important ought to be patiently heard while they urge Congregationalists to change their mode of operation. There are many Congregationalists who are controlled by these considerations and who think it their duty no longer to sustain the union. They must have channels through which they can act or they will perhaps not act at all—certainly not efficiently. There will, therefore, most unquestionably be such an organization, whatever may be said against it. Let us then make our views understood by each other and let each Christian act as he thinks he ought. I do not expect that the separate action of those Congregationalists who determine to act separately will produce any of those terrible convulsions which are predicted. I do not see the war which is so much talked of. I do not expect the destruction of the present Home Missionary Society, but I do expect that the progress of discussion will create a great deal more Congregationalism than exists at present, and that Congregationalists will learn that if they would Christianize the world so that it will "stay" Christianized, it must be done by spreading Congregationalism.

You call upon the Puritan to say what sort of Congregationalism it would spread by a separate organization. I cannot answer for the Puritan, but I am quite ready to answer for myself, that it is not "consociated" Congregationalism that I would spread, nor should I expect any one to see difference enough between that and Presbyterianism to induce much effort to spread the one rather than the other. It is one of the most grievous deeds of the past years of union with Presbyterianism that Connecticut has become substantially a Presbyterian State. There is no mistake about this. The name of Congregationalism is retained, but its reality is gone. *A Congregational church is complete in itself, possessing all the powers necessary for its own organization and action, those powers to be exercised by the vote of a majority of the members.* Consociation takes away these essential characteristics, subjecting the church in all its movements to the control of the Consociation. I have before me the rules of the Consociation of the Eastern District of Fairfield County. I quote "Art. 1st. The duties of this Consociation shall be to

settle and dismiss ministers within their limits—decide cases of discipline—and to adjudicate in all cases relating to the interests of religion in the district." Here is Congregationalism swept away at a blow. The churches cannot elect their own pastors, nor even their deacons if the Consociation choose to interfere. The power of appointment is as absolutely *vested* in the Consociation as it is in an English bishop. Further along they say that "either the pastor, church or *society*" may call the Consociation, and it is very evident that the Consociation may go without being called by any one if it so pleases. Is this the liberty with which Christ made the churches of Connecticut free? I am grieved and vexed that the clergy of my native State should thus have taken away the beauty of Zion; and I think the churches who have thus supinely allowed the precious talent committed to them to be lost will deserve to be oppressed by shepherds who care not for their flock, unless they speedily withdraw from so dangerous a position. It is not to spread such Congregationalism as this, that I shall give my money or my prayers.

Perhaps I have made corrections enough, yet I will say one thing more. The views of the Puritan it seems to me lack something of purity, and perhaps this is the reason why you are not answered. It had quite an article the other week to prove that no man could acquire a right to preach but by *license* from the clergy, and it stated distinctly that no church could elect one of its own members and set him to be their pastor. I do not understand Congregationalism so, nor do I understand primitive church history so. It is generally *expedient* that men should have the sanction of some body of ministers, before they preach, and generally expedient that a church should call in other churches to assist in the installation of its pastor, but not necessary; and when a council acts, it is by the authority of the churches and in their name, not by the authority of the clergy. This is the doctrine of Congregationalism. The doctrine of clerical power is the great distinctive feature of Episcopacy. It is the church, not the clergy which is the pillar and ground of the truth.

It is quite time that the Congregationalists of New England had made up their minds whether divine right belongs to the clergy or the people. We had a document put forth not long since in the shape of "A Pastoral Letter from the North Consociation of Litchfield County." This document says "two things are essential to the constitution of the pastor, a call from God to take the office, and ordination to confer the needful gifts by the laying on of the hands of the apostles and elders." This would be in good keeping in some places, but not among Congregationalists, and in my judgment the latter part is a pure assumption,

without the least warrant of Scripture. If any of the members of that Consociation thinks he can make out Scripture for it, let him try, and layman as I am and pressed with other cares, I will still venture to defend the opposite ground. Suppose a man has the first of these requisites and is in the midst of a clergy who refuse him the second. What shall he do? Why, according to this pastoral letter he must obey man rather than God, and do nothing! I think the Scriptures would teach him to do like John Bunyan, go to preaching. God never lays down his rules in a manner to involve such absurdities. If God calls, we must obey. If men will sanction it, all the better; but if they will not, then they must be disregarded. I say as does the pastoral letter, "let the people honor the office of the pastor as a holy and fruitful ordinance of God," and I would counterpoise it by adding, let the pastors honor the churches as the foundation of all orders and offices, and to which all are to be the servants; and let them not claim more in the churches than is claimed by the Great Head, who is content to be an elder *brother*. Quo.

OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH.

[*From the New York Evangelist*, 1841.]

A Correspondent of your paper, Presbyter who seems, upon the whole, to be quite liberal in his intentions, has brought together upon the subject of the officers of the church, what appears to me a singular cluster of opinions. He makes out very clearly, that the primitive churches were organized with two officers and no more, viz.; pastors and deacons, the latter for the care of church charities. He thinks, nevertheless, that it is better there should be another order, viz.; ruling elders, because it is expedient as he thinks, and because although there is no "express warrant for this office in the Bible," yet "there are several intimations in the epistles, which seem to favor the institution." These he considers representatives of the people, and the expediency of the office, he says, "is so clearly seen, that a large portion of the Congregational churches appoint standing committees or a large board of deacons, with powers similar to those of a session."

Congregationalists have obviously some right to interpret their own policy, and I hope you will allow me, as one, to put this matter straight, even though I should say some things not in exact accordance with your own views. It is quite plain, that if the primitive churches appointed only teachers and agents for their

charities, that all the principal matters of church business were reserved to the church. The admission to membership, and the administration of discipline, were not delegated at all. It is equally plain, that the election of ruling elders would have been the introduction of another system entirely. It would have put an end to the democratic principle, by substituting the aristocratic. In my judgment, there is no "intimations" even, that any such change ever took place, but that the perfect Congregationalism in which the churches were instituted at first, was not found the expedient plan, so long as the advancement of Christ's kingdom was the only object of his professed followers. It was under this system of individual liberty, and individual responsibility to their grand Master, that the Christians went everywhere, each one according to his own judgment, "preaching the gospel," and it was under this system that the word had good power, and multitudes were added to the Church. If all bands had been required to wait the sanction of the ruling elders, what would have become of all this evangelical labor?

If ruling elders were ever wanted in the Church, either in the primitive or modern ages, it seems to me they must have been wanted at the very outset, when the converts, full of all the errors of Judaism, and Paganism, and heathen philosophy, and feeble in Christian knowledge, must have had more need of *government*, than ever afterwards. The Church had before been under tutors and governors; but this was the time of her emancipation. There was now a nobler and larger work for the sons of God to perform, than ever before, and they were told to do it; controlled by no human power, and following only in the footsteps of their great captain.

But let me set Presbyter right, about the matter of Presbyterianism being a *representative* form of church government, and so like Congregationalism that Congregationalists, feeling the necessity of the case, do virtually establish sessions. In my judgment, these ideas are all mistakes. Presbyterianism is not republicanism, nor is it in any proper sense a representative government. If the government of this nation had been organized by the election of a President and Senate for life, in whom were vested all the powers of the Constitution, what would it have been called? Not a representative government, certainly, nor a republic in any sense. It could have been called nothing but an elective aristocracy. If, instead of electing a national Senate, the Constitution of each State had provided that its officers should consist of a Governor and Senate elected for life, and that the Union should be formed by a Congress of delegates chosen by the various State Senates from their own bodies respectively, what would this have

been called? The people would have expressed their opinion at once, and there would be an end of their influence. If such a plan had been proposed to the Convention for framing the Federal Constitution, in my opinion, rather than adopt it, they would have thought the people better represented by declaring General Washington the unlimited monarch of the realm, the crown to descend in the line of his heirs forever. It certainly would never have been thought of, that such a government was composed of representatives of the people. Such a government could never have been planned, but with the intention of shutting out the people from all participation in power.

Nothing can be more erroneous than the notion that the standing committees of Congregational churches exercise similar power with Presbyterian sessions. There may be, possibly, a few churches who are called Congregational, and who have so mistaken Congregationalism, as to suppose that names constituted the thing, and so contented themselves with being ruled by a session, if only it was called a standing committee. But there are no such churches in New England. There, and wherever else Congregationalism really exists, there is no power delegated to any one, but the power to accomplish the resolves of the whole church. Standing committees stand but one year, and then are resolved into the general mass. They do not admit members, nor excommunicate them, nor hold any of the powers of discipline; they do not appoint delegates to associations or councils, nor exercise authority in any way. They are mere committees, acting as they are directed by the church. If such committees ever seek to prevent the free action of the churches, or attempt anything on their own authority, it is an usurpation, and every intelligent Congregational church would take prompt measures to correct the wrong.

It is evident from what I have said, that no two systems can be less alike than Presbyterianism and Congregationalism. It is quite true, that many churches of Congregationalists have, in deference to the custom around them, made their organization Presbyterian. Under such circumstances, perhaps, the Congregational feeling of equality will be controlling for years. But it is sure to die at last, and the control of the rulers to be substituted in its place. Presbyter says, "those systems of church government in which bishops and elders monopolize the authority, ruling over, and independent of the brotherhood, are plainly unscriptural." I ask him, then, what good reason there can be for setting aside a system in practice, which acts directly in accordance with this principle, and substituting one which contradicts it? If we believe that the right and responsibility of govern-

ment is by God's appointment with the people, why should we attempt to carry an opposite principle into operation by choosing a king or an aristocracy? Presbyter writes like a man perfectly sincere, and there are no doubt a multitude who think with him. The object of Christians, whether they adopt the one or the other of these systems, is the same, viz.: the advancement of the cause of evangelical religion by the most efficient means. The two denominations have acted for years very harmoniously together, upon a sort of understanding that nothing should be said about the matter, but a new state of the case now exists, and it is of great importance that both systems should be well understood, that the best may be adopted. If one is better than the other, they who have heretofore adopted the poorer of the two have no more reason to count the explanation unkind, than a company of reapers would have to complain of the man who should present to them a better sickle than the one they were using.

CONGREGATIONALISM OUT OF NEW ENGLAND.

[*From the New England Puritan*, 1842.]

THERE is no error so industriously repeated, and none which exerts so much influence as this, that while Congregationalism is a very good thing for people so enlightened and orderly as those of New England, it is not at all the thing for such communities as exist elsewhere. The people of New York are said to be heterogeneous, not used to managing their own affairs, and not competent to manage them. A distinguished gentleman from New England, now residing in Michigan, expressed the sentiment by saying, "Congregationalism will do very well in New England, but the people of Michigan need to be ruled with a heavy hand." By "a heavy hand," the gentleman meant Presbyterianism. I have heard this opinion expressed in various forms by men of high standing in the churches, a thousand times. When the Tabernacle passed into Congregational hands, a Rev. Doctor of Divinity declared in a public assembly, that not ten respectable families could be found in New York, who would attend a Congregational meeting. I have perceived, by conversations with gentlemen from New England, that the notion that Congregationalism is unfit for any other part of the country than that, has been industriously circulated there. This error has gathered strength from a considerable number of facts. Churches called Congregational have, one after another, failed in New York and elsewhere. The most noticeable of these failures, perhaps, was that of Mr. Todd's church, in Philadelphia. It would not be

expedient to state here all the causes which resulted in the failure of that once hopeful enterprise. It is sufficient to say, that the failure was not caused by the Congregational mass of people, but by the leading men, who would have been the enlightened rulers, had the church been Presbyterian. So far as I have remarked, the difficulties in churches uniformly arise among the leading men, who are supposed to possess superior enlightenment. The mass of members, who are supposed to be too unlearned for self-government, generally behave very well. In New York, Congregationalism has never had a fair experiment, until the formation of the Tabernacle Church. Several Congregational churches had been formed, but, in some cases, the Congregationalism was overridden by some fanatical purpose, to which it was rendered subservient, or else there was too much feebleness in resources of some sort, to warrant any tolerable hope of success. As to the Tabernacle, it has so far been the most successful religious enterprise ever undertaken in this city. The West is rising in Congregationalism. About one-half the churches in Illinois are Congregational. In Michigan, a strong Congregational movement was made about two years ago, which has been attended with great success, so that now that State may be put down as half Congregational, with a rapid proportionate gain in favor of Congregationalism. In Wisconsin and Iowa, Congregationalism takes the lead. The tide is turning in all directions, and the question is no longer agitated, whether Congregational churches shall become Presbyterian, but whether Presbyterian churches shall become Congregational. The fact is, the church polity of New England is the only polity fitted to our country, or to real Christians anywhere. Ignorance, superstition, and the supremacy of human authority over the word of God, require hierarchy to support them, clothed with power in proportion as these things are to be accomplished. But the spread of the gospel is a work which puts every disciple of Christ in motion, under the direct control of his Master in heaven. The superior energy and enterprise of Congregationalism is as conspicuous out of New England as in it. It can live and flourish wherever the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ can live and flourish. Christ left the Church Congregational in the largest sense. He committed the mighty principles which he had promulgated, to the hands and hearts of all his people, with the command to all, "Go preach the gospel;" and unless the disciples of Christ feel this command ever pressing upon them, individually, their Christian energy languishes. Let every New England Christian disabuse himself of the delusion that Congregationalism is only suited to New England. Congregationalism

has been one of the chief instruments in making New England what it is, and if other parts of our country, and the world, are to be made what New England is, it must be by the same means. Congregationalism is *the* system of church government which is fitted to *all men*, and which ought to be established *everywhere*.

Union with Presbyterians. I see, by late reports from Wisconsin and Iowa, that the grand error of putting Congregationalism in alliance with Presbyterian judicatories is still at work. An end must be put to this, before Congregationalism will put on its glory. The New School Presbyterians are talking very cozily about these days to Congregationalists, and the Old School declare on all sides that they do not dislike Congregationalism half as bad as they do the New School, and in fact that they almost like us. So the old scandal, that the New School were "no better than Congregationalists" is turning to be a compliment. The fact is, there is no difference between the Schools in relation to us. Both dislike our system, and both will oppose and overthrow it whenever they can. The most liberal New School divines hereabouts resist every effort to establish Congregationalism. A Yankee would not know why, yet he will find it so in every movement. There has lately been a movement for the establishment of a Congregational church in the south part of Brooklyn. There is a population of Yankees there, some of whom are decided Congregationalists. Dr. Cox and his people, with other Presbyterians, looked at the spot two years ago, and made quite an effort to establish a Presbyterian church, but did not succeed. Last spring there was a Congregational movement. The matter soon attracted attention. There was a small meeting-house on the ground, which was about to be vacated by the Episcopal Society, under the care of the Rev. Dr. Stone. If the neighboring clergymen would have given their countenance to the Congregational movement, a flourishing church might have been at once established. If they really think so well of Congregationalism, why did they not bid it God speed? It was evidently the way in which the best success could be expected. Yet while negotiations were pending among the various parties, the Old School men of New York bought the little church, put an end to negotiation, and started off an Old School preacher. Two or three months have been enough to show the inaptness of that movement; for the clergyman has been withdrawn, and the house re-sold to the New School, who are now about to try their hand. Not one word of assent, so far as I have heard, has the Congregational movement ever had from any Presbyterian clergyman of either School. What is the use, then, of trying to

sustain an alliance where there is no real sympathy? The clergy and their powerful friends are very sincere, or think themselves so, in their kind professions. They have seen the beauties of Congregationalism, and, like Dr. Beecher, they can praise it; but, like him, they are Presbyterians, and they do not want the beautiful creature to come too near their castles. They believe the common people are not competent to carry on church affairs, and that the congregated wisdom of the clergy alone is sufficient for such things.

It is strange to me, who have long looked upon it, that it should be so. But so it is. Old School and New School are alike the irreconcilable opponents of Congregationalism. They do not believe in it, and they will not have it, if they can help it. Yet there is no difficulty in living in close neighborhood and good neighborhood with Presbyterians. But it must be done by placing our alliance upon the points of *agreement*, and *not* upon those of difference. Presbyterians and Congregationalists can agree and coöperate in Sabbath-schools, Bible societies, and many other things, but they cannot coöperate in church government. It is absurd, and the ready way to controversy, therefore, for the two denominations to unite in the establishment of churches, or in church judicatories. The effect has been bad universally, and Congregationalism has always been obliged to yield everything, or resist, or break away. When the two denominations meet together in Presbytery, they seldom understand the union in the same way. Presbyterians look on the Presbytery as an authoritative judicatory, with power over the churches, and bound to govern them. Congregationalists count the church as the highest ecclesiastical judicatory on earth, and the Presbytery as possessed of no power whatever. How can the two parties manage such opposite opinions harmoniously? They never have, and they never will. Presbyterianism first demands union, then the right to advise, then the enforcement of advice. Entering into union is but the beginning of controversy. There have been many instances like the following: In the town of Franklin, in this State, there was a large Congregational church. The people were most of them from Franklin, and other towns in Connecticut. They would have been happy and strong, if they had not accepted the invitation of the Presbytery of Delaware county to an alliance. A union was formed upon very simple principles. The church declared its rejection of all authority but that of Christ and its own body. It agreed to send delegates to the meetings of the Presbytery, to hand in a report of its condition, and, in return, the Presbytery agreed to give its *advice* to the church, if, at any time, the church should ask it. What mischief

could grow out of so simple and friendly a thing as this? The sequel shows. About a year ago, the church in Franklin, with great innocency, employed a graduate from ———, to preach to them; and being acceptable, a contract was made for a year. Soon, however, it began to be rumored that the preacher was unsound. A few of the brethren were troubled, and some eight or ten sent for advice to the Presbytery. The *church* did not ask advice, and so the exigency had not occurred which authorized the Presbytery to take up the matter. Yet they did take it up, and gave advice in the strongest terms: that the preacher should be sent away forthwith, and accompanied their advice with a notice that Presbytery would meet in Franklin on a day near at hand, to consider further of the matter. They did so meet, and gave further advice, declaring that those members who should comply with their advice should be deemed and taken to be the first church in Franklin. The church was distracted and torn in pieces by these proceedings. About one-third of the church and congregation adopted the advice of Presbytery, and declared themselves the first church and congregation; but the majority rejected the advice, and, as the civil laws of New York recognized them as owners of the property, the adherents to Presbytery were compelled to withdraw, and build themselves another house. The heart-burnings, the sins, the mischiefs of every sort, attendant on such an affair, can be imagined. The majority were still so much disposed for peace and union, that they sent delegates to the next meeting of Presbytery, who were refused their seats, and so the union was broken.

The first church in Franklin have now learned so much of the sufferings of union, that they will hereafter let Presbytery alone. They have since settled an excellent pastor from New England, but not a clergyman in the neighborhood will exchange with him, or in any way recognize him or the church. Yet the church has done nothing but, in the most long-suffering style, decline the *advice* of the Presbytery.

The same Presbytery have since been trying their hand in a similar manner with another refractory Congregational church in union with it. I hope that church will at once take the only course which can save it from the scenes of Franklin, viz: withdraw from all connection with Presbytery. Such is the effect of union. It is the bond of discord.

WORDS AND NAMES.—NO. I.

[*From the Boston Recorder, July*, 1843.]

A GREAT deal of error grows up in our minds from the gradual changes which take place in the meaning of words, and especially the application of names to things quite unlike the things which they originally described. *Preaching* has come to be confined in its meaning, with most men, to systematic sermonizing from a pulpit. Yet the meaning of the term, as used in the Bible, extends to all conversation. In fact, there was in apostolic times no preaching which exactly corresponded with the preaching of modern times. They that were scattered abroad after the martyrdom of Stephen "went every where preaching the word," not in systematic sermons, but in conversations by the way, or in the house, to few and to many, as there was opportunity. In the Scripture meaning of the term, therefore, all Christians are preachers who proclaim to their fellow-men, in any way, the good news of salvation by Jesus Christ. How absurd, then, is it, to insist that none can preach but such as have been ordained, or that it requires a different kind of commission to authorize a Christian to preach a sermon, constructed with its firstly, secondly, and thirdly, from what it does to put forth Christian truths without numbering them. Every Christian is bound to be a preacher at all times. How or when he shall preach, depends on circumstances, but as to the Scripture authority in the case, a Sabbath-school teacher has precisely the same with an archbishop. Both are authorized and commanded to *preach* the word.

Church is another name about which a very erroneous impression pervades men's minds, from its being attached to organizations quite different from the original churches. To the mind of the Roman Catholic the word church conveys the idea of the Roman Catholic church, with its pope, cardinals, bishops, crosses, pictures and masses; in the mind of an Episcopalian, the word carries with it the apostolic succession of bishops, the surplices with which they are dignified, and the formularies by which their worship is guided: before the Presbyterian, the word instantly arrays the General Assembly, and all the "lower judicatories;" and before the Congregationalist, his own parish circle, united in covenant, with its pastor and deacons. The impression of the Congregationalist is much nearer to the original meaning than any of the rest; but even the little formality of organization which enters his mind was entirely absent from the original import of the word church. It meant, then, the company of believers, having no written covenant, no written creed, and no officers of any sort; but bound together in the love of Christ

and each other, each performing whatever service he had talents or opportunity to perform. The church, at the time of our Lord's ascension, consisted of "about an hundred and twenty" persons, men and women. This was all that remained of the multitudes who had fed upon the miracles of Jesus, and shouted hosanna to the Son of David. On the day of Pentecost the members of the church "were all with one accord in one place," when suddenly there came a sound from heaven, and the Holy Ghost fell upon them and those who had come together to see the wonder, and upon that day the church had an accession of "about three thousand souls," but with no other ceremony than baptism. These all became preachers at once, as they retired to their various homes in distant places.

Thus was the church constituted, simple in its structure, cemented by faith in Christ and love for the brethren, and impelled to universal expansion by the spirit of heavenly benevolence which had been kindled in each heart by the Holy Ghost. Forms and ceremonies it had none, except the two sacraments of Baptism and the Supper; but every member was filled with a spirit such as had not before moved our earth—a spirit, which, while it submitted to civil governments and ecclesiastical powers, so far as it could be done with honesty, yet held every man in such supreme and direct allegiance to the risen Lord, that thrones and hierarchies were set at defiance by the weakest saint, whenever that supreme law required it.

From this view of the organized and universal church, we perceive that any collection of disciples is a church, possessing all the power which Christ has conferred, and able to do all things which its circumstances require. It cannot control other portions of the church, nor prescribe rules for them, but it may prescribe rules for itself. In the midst of conflicting opinions, it may draw out, in the form of a creed, its views of fundamental doctrine; it may establish rules for the orderly and convenient transaction of its business; and it may elect such officers as will enable it to carry out, in the best way, the design of Christ in founding his church. *The object of constructing local churches is that the members may enjoy communion together as brethren, and in the sacraments, and that their worship may be maintained publicly, so that the people of the world may come in and hear the word, and be brought into the church.* This *simplicity* of the church should never be violated. It should never be forgotten that a church of Christ is a company of his disciples, joined together *in that character only*, and that it is not a society to carry out political or moral reforms, or even in its *organized capacity* to preach the gospel beyond its own ordinances. The church covenant must

require of each member that he shall lead a life of godliness and honesty, adorning his profession, leaving him to choose his own sphere of labor in the grand business of human improvement. She cannot, as a condition of communion, require him to join a temperance society, nor forbid him to do so, nor to go as a foreign missionary, nor refrain from doing so; nor can she of right inquire further into his opinions or his practice than is necessary to satisfy herself whether he is a *disciple of Christ or not.* Upon this simple primitive plan, Christians may live together as brethren, happy and cordial, though they may hold a thousand different opinions upon political and moral subjects, and the best methods of doing good abroad in the world.

The notion, not uncommon, that the church is a society for all work, that is a temperance society, an anti-slavery society, a foreign missionary society, and a society for everything else in which Christians may be, and ought to be, engaged for the perfecting of the grand consequences of the Christian religion in all their details, is preposterous and ruinous. It transforms the church from being the joyful and peaceful assembly of disciples, ever the same, into the battle-ground of every new thing which comes up, and makes it as changeable as the waves of popular excitement.

Each member of the church is bound, besides supporting his own church as first of all, to do with his might whatever else his hands find to do, either by himself or in associations with others who think with him. He is bound to be a preacher wherever he goes, and to assist other brethren who are ready to devote themselves to evangelical labors at home or abroad, and to go himself at the command—not of the church—but of Christ. He is in fact bound by his obligations—not to the church—but to Christ, to labor with all his might, and every day, and in any field to which the Lord may appoint him. Behold, then, the unity, the simplicity, the order, and the resistless energy of the church.

Quo.

WORDS AND NAMES.—No. II.

[*From the Boston Recorder, July*, 1843.]

Ordination is another word which has been perverted in the same manner. It conveys to the mind of each one who reads it in the New Testament the idea of such a ceremony as he has been accustomed to see performed under this name. But in the primitive church, no particular ceremony was established for ordinations, nor did the powers of a disciple to perform service in the church depend upon any form. If in ordination, any ce-

remony was performed, it was but the declaration of office, not the conferring of it. It was the putting of a man into a place which was already his by the events of Providence. Doubtless there were hundreds of ordinations to various duties with no ceremony at all, the individual being merely designated for his place by the election of the brethren, or of some individual or individuals whose business it was to arrange the matter, or by such indications of Providence as made duty plain to the individual himself.

The virtue which is attached to ordination in all hierarchies, and by too many men out of them, is quite remarkable—nothing less than that by means of the laying on of hands there has been *handed* down from the apostles the exclusive right to preach, and especially to administer sacraments, and to ordain successors. This strange monopoly is claimed by the clergy, in spite of its absurdity. In the first place, it is a most unnatural arrangement which they claim to have been established. It shuts up the free grace of Christ within the grasp of priests, and brings sinners, not to Him who never sends any away empty, but to men who are capricious, bigoted, and hard-hearted, often giving them a stone who ask for bread. It makes the plan of the gospel a changeable plan, the terms of admission to its benefits being one thing in one age, and another in another age, and in one sect or place in the same age directly the opposite of what they are in others. Has God embarrassed his great work of redemption by such contingencies as these? But, in the second place, there is not one of all the priests who claim this exclusive power by succession, who can give a history of his own lineage, or make out any tolerable evidence that he is in the line of descent at all; for this succession has passed through the accidents of eighteen centuries, most of them exceedingly dark and doubtful. How awful it must be to swing into eternity upon a chain so long, and in which, if a single link be broken, "tenth or ten thousandth breaks the chain alike." If the other end be not fast hooked in the rock Peter, and every link carefully welded, how miserable must be the condition of the soul who hangs upon it over the bottomless abyss! How perplexed must we all be, if the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, or any portion of it, depends on such things as these—instead of coming, as it does, fresh and new, directly from His hand to every believing hand extended to receive it.

But besides all this, the apostles possessed no powers or gifts which were in their nature transmissible. Christ, in wonderful disparagement of this claim of ordination, never performed any ceremony at the calling of either of them. He merely said, "fol-

low me," as he says to his disciples now by his providence. And he called them not to be rulers, or to establish a hierarchy, but for the very simple purpose of *testifying of what they saw and heard*. They were *witnesses* of all that Jesus "began both to do and teach" —nothing else. Christ selected the twelve to be continually with him. St. Luke records the commission given to them by the Lord, as follows:—"Ye shall receive power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be *witnesses* unto me, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Peter, in recognition of this single design, when he called the attention of the church to the necessity of filling the place of Judas, said, "Wherefore of these men which have companied with us, all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a *witness* with us of his resurrection." How different an address would Peter have made if he had entertained the opinions of many modern bishops. Mark, in the third chapter, says, "And he ordained twelve, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to *preach*, and to have power to heal sicknesses, and to cast out devils." This last power it is not pretended has been transmitted, except by the Romanists, nor even by them, for ordination is not necessary to the working of their miracles; any girl who will learn to live without eating, or to lie in one position fourteen years, having as much power for this purpose as an archbishop or a cardinal. Of the duties assigned to the apostles, that of preaching or testifying is the only one which is handed down. There are various other passages recognizing this great design, but none establishing in the apostleship any such authority over the church, as is pretended to be derived from them. Christ nowhere gave them any commission to rule over the other disciples or to dictate to them what they should believe. The humble but most honorable business of *feeding* his sheep and his lambs was all that Peter was authorized to do.

Again: it is not pretended that ordination confers the gifts which fit a man for the ministry or the graces of a Christian even, but only the *rights*. God has nowhere in the Christian church established ordinances for the conferring of power without grace. Still more, the claim of ordination is one in direct resistance of Christ. It claims that ordination confers the powers of office upon men whom the Head of the church has not called; upon bad men, nay, the very worst of men. It claims the right to thrust upon the Lord, men who reject Him and whom He rejects; to put into the administration of his affairs, not his disciples and

friends, but his enemies; to appoint shepherds in despite of him, who care not for the flocks—mere hirelings. It sets up, in fact, a hierarchy, not over the church only, but over the Head of the church. This is the legitimate result of the divine right of apostolic descent, as claimed by virtue of ordination, whether it be held by the bishops of Rome, of the English Episcopal Church, or the pastors of Presbyterian or Congregational churches. This is the grand spinal error on which all hierarchy is constructed, the falsehood preëminently accursed, which has done more to oppress the church of Christ and to prevent the fulfillment of his great command to preach the gospel to all people, than any other falsehood. It is held nevertheless by thousands of pious pastors, though much to their own damage, and the damage of the churches. Christ instituted no forms of any sort in ordination. He was not a man of forms, but of spirit. Mark, in the passage I have quoted above, says, "he ordained twelve." No laying on of hands was mentioned, and evidently none took place. The call was the ordination. When the place of Judas was to be filled, if ever, there should have been an ordination after the modern form. On that occasion, Peter said, "must one be *ordained* to be a witness with us," &c. The proposal pleased the one hundred and twenty disciples in the midst of whom Peter was standing, and they proceeded to the ordination. This was the time in which succession, if it was to exist, should have been started carefully, and all its mighty consequences fastened securely to the apostolic foundation. What under these circumstances did the apostles. What ought they to have done, and most carefully recorded, according to modern opinions and modern records of ordination! What they did was as follows. They "*appointed* two, Joseph and Matthias." "They prayed, thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two *thou* hast chosen, that he may take part of this *ministry* and *apostleship*—and they gave forth their lots; and the lot fell upon Matthias, *and he was numbered with the eleven apostles.*" Oh, if Luke could have but reached down his hand to the nineteenth century, he might have had a thousand pounds put into it, if only he would have interlined the laying on of hands by the eleven. But as the ordination was really by the whole church, and without the laying on of hands at all, Luke thought best to let it go so. The descendants from Matthias are now evidently without lineage. The matter was not begun right, and the mistake cannot now be corrected. What pastor can say that he does not belong to this broken line? The example set us on this occasion should be, and is, followed substantially by Congregational churches. Having in their own minds, after prayer and inquiry,

fixed upon one or more disciples as suited to be their pastor, they lay the matter more especially before God in prayer, saying, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show us whom thou hast chosen—and they give forth their lots or votes, and on whomsoever the choice falls, he is, if he accepts the election, validly ordained. If, after this, a ceremony or public induction is convenient, there can be no objection to it, but it adds nothing to the validity of the transaction.

Again, Paul claims to be an apostle, but he was never ordained, and he makes the number thirteen. When Paul was called into the ministry he saw Christ, and so became one of the very best witnesses of the resurrection. In his case, as if to throw designed contempt on this monopoly of ordination, he was sent first to a layman—"a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias." This layman, "putting his hands on him, said, Brother Saul, the Lord Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent *me*, that thou mightest receive thy sight and *be filled with the Holy Ghost*." Paul "received sight forthwith, and arose and was baptized," (the baptism being unquestionably administered by this same layman;) "and straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues." How exceedingly *irregular* was all this, when compared with modern books and opinions! Paul takes special care to tell us that he preached for three years after this, before he saw any one of those who were "apostles before him," (read Gal. 1st and 3d chaps.) When we look at this subject in its true light, how funny and ridiculous do a company of bishops appear, clad in silks and ornamented like eastern princes, walking forth in grandiloquent procession, announcing themselves as the lineal representatives of the twelve apostles! And how preposterous are the pretensions of any set of men who claim, that by virtue of ordination, they are invested with a monopoly of sacred things, so that the Church of Christ cannot enjoy her privileges, nor even her existence, without *them!* Quo.

WORDS AND NAMES.—NO. III.

[*From the Boston Recorder, July*, 1843.]

Let me not be misunderstood as rejecting or undervaluing the ministers or the deacons, or the covenants and creeds of the churches, or the simple forms of ordination as practiced by the New England churches. All these are generally expedient, but their obligation rests on the basis of expediency; and when expedient, they become matters of duty, and in that sense of divine

right. But judging of this expediency—the exercise of this divine right—is intrusted to the people, not the ministers alone. It is the requirement of the Savior, that in his own house all things should be done decently and in order, for the edification and vigorous action of his body; but by what means this shall be accomplished must be determined by the brotherhood, according to the circumstances of each particular one.

For a church in the midst of other churches, nothing is more suitable than that in the installation of one of its members as its pastor it should call in its neighbors and friends, and that the pastors, being accustomed to lead on all public occasions, should lead also in this. While a church has a pastor, or can conveniently procure the services of a brother who has been educated and set apart for the ministry, good order and propriety require that they should do so, and that such an one should lead them in their most public devotions, and in the administration of ordinances. But, if the circumstances are reversed; if a church is far off from other churches, or surrounded only by such churches as will not sympathize with her, she is quite at liberty, and the divine will would require her to ordain her own pastor, as was done in the case of Matthias. If, too, thus separated and alone, without a pastor, her season of communion at the Supper returns, or infant children of believers arrive at the proper age to be publicly dedicated, the church is not at liberty to neglect the ordinances on this account, but must appoint some one of her number to officiate until the Lord shall please to send her better helps. The benefit of the sacraments does not depend upon the exterior consecration of the hand which administers them, but upon the internal sanctification of the heart which receives them. Even the churches of Rome and of England acknowledge all this, and direct that baptism shall in extreme cases be administered by a nurse, or any other person at hand, and such baptism is allowed to be as efficacious as that administered by consecrated hands. This is making the validity of the administration to depend on the circumstances of the case, and so upon expediency altogether.

Episcopacy of all sorts selects a *portion* of the clergy as superior to the rest, and insists that they alone possess the strange monopoly of ordination, denouncing Congregational and Presbyterian ministers, as no more than unanointed laymen. In this they are quite right, and if they would but put *themselves* upon the same level of universal brotherhood, it would be just where the Bible and common sense put them.

I do not intend to enter extensively into the minute examination of texts of Scripture in connection with this subject, for it

would extend this article beyond my design. This is not, however, because I have not examined the Bible; for I have read the New Testament through carefully, and noted every passage which seemed to have a bearing on the case. My clear conviction is, that there is not any authority there for the claim, but an overwhelming amount of evidence against it, both in the general spirit of Christ's institutions, the particular occurrences which are related, and the instructions which are given. It is not pretended that the Savior ever laid his hands on any one for the purpose of ordaining him to preach, or that he instituted the order of priests with this power, by any particular declaration. It is a matter of *deduction* merely. It is said in reply to this most remarkable absence in the institution, of a power which is claimed with such pertinacity, and as so indispensable, that the *call of Christ* was enough, so that whoever He called needed no farther authority. Certainly it was so in the days of Christ's dwelling on earth, and it is equally so now. The disciple who is called to devote himself to the work of the ministry, by the voice of Jesus Christ speaking in his providence, cannot be helped by human authority, and ought not to be hindered. The great principle is the same now as formerly, and woe to that body of men who attempt to hold back any one whom the Lord has called, or to interfere in the case beyond the giving of advice. And woe to that disciple who being so called to any duty, fails to perform it from fear of men.

Gifts which have been conferred by the laying on of hands, are mentioned two or three times in the New Testament, and the texts are constantly resorted to in support of the monopoly of the priesthood; but no one can say what those gifts were, and it is not pretended that any gifts are now conferred by ordination. If bishops or councils could confer gifts by the laying on of their hands, the cases would be parallel, and the authority appropriate; but since they cannot, it is impossible to feel the force of the deduction, by which they would prove themselves to be necessary in the case. Let, then, the really pious pastors, whose desire is to walk in the footsteps of the great Shepherd, abandon this silly and groundless conceit. Let Rome keep it to herself, with the long catalogue of her blasphemous assumptions of divine prerogative.

Discipleship includes the highest of all prerogatives. Every disciple is a brother of Christ, a son of the Lord Almighty, a king and priest unto God; and this, not by doubtful deduction, but by explicit allowance and declaration of the Holy Ghost. If any desire to distinguish themselves in the "royal priesthood"

of the "sons of God," let them do it according to the direction of the Master—by superior *service* in the church.

Plainly, the preaching of the gospel is in no more need of studying its lineage than any other occupation. It would be really just as correct in fact, and as important in prerogative, for a portion of the tentmakers or sailmakers of the world to band themselves together and claim a monopoly of the business, under the pretense of lineal descent from the great apostle to the Gentiles. The power of the gospel is not dependent on such things as this. When the venerable Lyman Beecher was a young man, returning on a certain occasion to his native town in Connecticut, he fell into conversation by the roadside with an old neighbor, an Episcopalian, who had been mowing. "Mr. Beecher," said the farmer, "I should like to ask you a question. Our clergy say that you are not ordained, and have no right to preach. I should be glad to know what you think about it." "Suppose," replied Dr. Beecher, "you had in the neighborhood a blacksmith, who said that he could prove that he belonged to a regular line of blacksmiths which had come down all the way from St. Peter, but he made scythes that would not cut; and you had another blacksmith, who said he could not see what descent from Peter had to do with making scythes, so long as they were well made, and this man made scythes that would cut. Where would you go to get your scythes?"—"Why to the man who made scythes to cut, certainly," replied the farmer. "Well," said Dr. Beecher, "*that ministry which cuts is the ministry which Christ has authorized to preach.*" In a recent conversation on the same subject, Dr. Beecher gave his opinion by relating this story. Quo.

THE CHURCH AND THE PRESS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 10, 1843.]

The supremacy of the *Journal of Commerce* over the rest of the secular press, in all matters of church polity, has been most shockingly encroached upon within the last few weeks. The Courier has gone into the matters of "our church" by whole columns, setting popery and high church pretensions at utter defiance, and treating bishops' robes as if they were only common cloth. We do not comprehend "what has got into the man," that he writes so well upon church affairs. The Express has been picking up some of our spent shot, and firing them over again at Bishop Hughes and the papists, and the editor has involved himself, head and shoulders, in the strife, and the hotter it becomes,

the better he seems to like it. Now neither of these papers has an editor who has ever been ordained to any such service, or ever wore even the title of reverend. Who ever thought of saying "the Rev. James Watson Webb, Colonel in the regular army," or "the Rt. Rev. William B. Townsend, Esq., Bishop of Staten Island?" The Commercial Advertiser we need hardly mention; for it has always been a dabbler in these matters, though it has assumed a much more decided and fearless tone of late, declaring that it is not bound at all by the decrees of the Church as to what it shall say, or what matters it shall discuss. The American treats these things with all the reverence which a man without even a clerical title ought to do. If it says anything beyond what the Church has ordained, it takes care to put it in the form of great discretion. As to the Post, it minds its politics, as it ought. The penny and two-penny papers are all of them, more or less, falling into the same disregard of the lines which separate between secular and ecclesiastical affairs. Ten years ago not one of these papers would have dared to crack a joke at His Holiness the Pope, or any of his vicegerents on this side of the Atlantic, or question the propriety of any of their proceedings. We had then the field to ourselves; but we were unable to defend the lines. Bishop Hughes broke out of the church, close into the bloody field of politics, and compelled all hands to "stand by;" and now Bishop Onderdonk has consummated the confusion, by ordaining in the Episcopal Church, a young man who, almost every body thinks, ought to have been ordained by Bishop Hughes.

THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, November* 24, 1843.]

The New England Society, we understand, are planning for an anniversary, this year, of unusual interest. The farther we float on the stream of time away from the landing of our fathers, the more interest is there gathering, all the while, about the recollection of that event. When we stood the other day before Weir's great picture of the embarkation, and remembered that upon that deck was gathered the world's best hope for liberty and virtue, we felt inexpressible satisfaction in knowing the fact that Providence had sustained that hope, and landed that company in America. What if that company had been overwhelmed on the passage; who can say how much our race would have been retarded in its struggle for emancipation from the crafts of kings

and priests? The Reformation might have been overpowered, and thick clouds have been again shutting out the light. As it was, the work of emancipation, complete and thorough, was done at once. Our ancestors commenced on these shores, not struggling under masses of oppression and ignorance, but *they began free.* Look at England. How she heaves with desires for liberty, and how she is fettered and enthralled still, two hundred and twenty years after that portion of her people who came over here were perfectly free. It will probably require three centuries more, to place Englishmen in England at a point so far advanced in the world's renovation, as was Plymouth Rock, when our fathers first planted their free feet upon it. With one leap they cleared themselves of the old world's rubbish, and began a new world. How strange it seems to us, that a great mass of pious and intelligent Christians in England should sincerely think an alliance with the State necessary to the support of religion: that they should think the kingdom of Christ dependent upon such low maneuvers as the appointment of dissipated sons of noble families to places, in order that the support of those families may be secured to the Church: that even the noble Scotch, who have just abandoned all their church accommodations, and preferred the open air with liberty, to costly temples under the oppression of their civil alliances,—that such men, with their great leaders, should after all be so in darkness still as to desire another arrangement with the State! Yet so slow as all this are men to learn the truth, even with the example of America before their eyes. Even in this country, how many men are still so unenlightened as to doubt the ability of the people to manage their own affairs; doubtful in fact whether the Reformation was not on the whole a *misfortune,* or at least, with Mr. Carey, whether it did not go *too far!* Such men, we trust, will live to see that the Reformation will go considerably farther than it has even now gone; so far, in fact that the direction of Jesus Christ, "Call no man master on earth," shall be fully obeyed. Let, then, the event which planted liberty in the earth be celebrated. The thoughts which gather around Plymouth Rock will always be too big for utterance. The most burning eloquence can never bring them forth; the most expansive genius can never fully comprehend them.

PURITANISM AND EPISCOPACY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, December* 27, 1843.]

The speech of Rev. Dr. Wainright at the Pilgrim dinner, shows that these two great principles stand as widely apart now, as they did two hundred years ago. Time has not modified their essential ingredients, though time and the enlightenment of the age have induced more external courtesy. Mr. Choate, in his oration, said, that in Geneva the exiled Puritans "found a State without a king, and a church without a bishop." At the dinner Dr. Wainwright responded to the toast, "The clergy of New England." In the course of his remarks, he said that in a proper place he would undertake to prove that "there could be no church without a bishop." In another part of his remarks he said that although "an opponent of Puritan principles, he venerated the Puritan virtues." This is as near to an agreement as Puritanism and prelacy ever have come, or in all probability ever will. It was from the oppressions of prelacy that the Puritans fled; the attempt to extend the national church of England to these colonies, as it was extended to Ireland, was one of the chief, though more secret causes of the war of the Revolution, and in that war the mass of the Episcopal clergy and a great proportion of the laity took sides with the mother country. In fact, the history of the world does not record an instance in which prelacy has taken the side of liberty. Liberty owes her nothing; and if no spirit but hers had been rife in England three hundred years ago, this mighty republic would have made no part of the world's history, and Pilgrims' day would never have been named. The two things are eternal, irreconcilable enemies; and however happily the advocates of the two systems may live together in the same community as men and neighbors and Christians, it will only be by dropping for the time, the peculiar principles which constitute the two systems. Episcopacy when it stands forth distinctively, appears in surplice and band and lawn, claiming through apostolic succession to be the sole depository of covenant blessings, and the exclusive church of Christ, in which it exercises authoritatively its functions, independent of the people and by divine right. It speaks of the Bible as interpreted by the authority of the fathers, the councils, and the homilies, and it claims the submission of all men to its behests, under pain of eternal damnation; or at least, of hopes restricted to "uncovenanted" grace. The Puritan, in his round hat, and with no attire or air of superiority, replies, God is my father; Christ my bishop; this Bible my infallible guide. In this Bible I learn that where two or three are together in the name of Christ, He will be with them, and *that*

is church and bishop enough for me. This Bible is the finished revelation of God, and what he has finished, I do not believe men can make better. When you tell me that men have made an authoritative interpretation of God's book, you tell me what is impossible; what I cannot and *dare* not adopt; for God tells me, if I believe *His* word, I shall be saved; and if I do not, I shall be damned. I *must* see to this great matter for myself. Your apostolic succession I covet not, for I have one infinitely better. I am a brother of Christ, a son of God, a king and a priest, myself, by commission from the Almighty; and of what avail can succession from the apostles be to me? Whatever you propose to me, which is in accordance with the Bible, I shall be ready to comply with, at your suggestion and advice; but your *commands* I disclaim; and when they require me to disobey God, whatever may be the consequences, I dare not comply.

The two systems need to be delineated no farther, to show that they are never to be reconciled. Without saying which of these systems is right, any one may see that they contradict each other throughout; and without finding fault that an invitation to the Pilgrim dinner was extended to so respectable a New Englander as the Rev. Dr. Wainwright, or accepted by him, we must take the liberty to say that when prelacy holds a celebration, it cannot exhibit the good taste of unity for Puritans to take any prominent part in it; and the same difficulty exists when the case is reversed. That an Episcopal clergyman, especially, should respond to a toast in honor of the "clergy of New England," when everybody knows that in his estimation there are no clergymen there, except the very few who have been Episcopally ordained, and that there are no churches in New England except such as have Episcopal Bishops set over them, is carrying out Yankee fraternity in just the way to break it up altogether. An old Federalist might as well be made the sponsor of a toast in honor of Thomas Jefferson at a Democratic mass meeting, or a Democrat echo the memory of Alexander Hamilton in a log cabin. It is in better taste and better friendship that each party should go by itself, and rejoice in the success of whatever stimulates its exultation; for the Puritan's hat will be very likely to be trampled on at the Episcopal convention, and the Bishop's lawn to be torn at the puritanic conventicles.

It may be a matter of some interest to state, that the historic fact which Mr. Choate mentioned, he thought no more of than anything else he was saying, and was thrown into great wonder as to what it could be which had produced such thunders of applause. He inquired with earnestness afterwards, what it was which produced the commotion. The same thing might have been

said in Boston without producing the least excitement, or imposing on any Episcopalian the necessity of taking the least notice of it. But recent events have created the state of feeling in New York which so exploded in the Tabernacle.

PUNCHARD ON CONGREGATIONALISM.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, Jan.* 4, 1844.]

PUNCHARD'S view of the principles and doctrines of Congregationalism, of its practice and its advantages, together with a summary of the testimony in its favor, offered by Ecclesiastical History, is a learned and elaborate treatise, calculated to enlighten the public mind, and to promote the extension of a system of church government "recommended by the purity of its principles, the clearness of its doctrines, the simplicity of its rules, and the consonance of its spirit with the meek breathings of the gospel."

Congregationalism, in common with other Protestant systems, takes the Bible as its only infallible guide; but it has certain essential principles, distinctive and peculiar to itself. It is an organization of the largest liberty, investing its members with power to choose their own officers, and to administer their own affairs. By giving the power of discipline to those most interested in maintaining the purity of the church, it establishes a security the most effectual for preserving that purity, while at the same time it guards against the abuse of a power so likely to be perverted, under the influence of prejudice or passion, by an individual, or a particular class recognizing an interest common only to its own order. By establishing the independency of each of its churches, it secures to each its rights and privileges.

As Congregationalism regards the Scriptures as the only infallible guide in matters of church order and discipline, it seeks in them to ascertain what is essential to the character of a Christian church; believing that the principles of church order and discipline are essentially the same in all ages of the world—in these latter days as in the days of the apostles.

From the express injunctions and instructions of Scripture, and from the authorized example of the apostolic churches, equally authoritative with express commands, it infers the truth, that—

"A visible Christian church is a voluntary association of professed Christians, united together by a covenant for the worship of God and the celebration of religious ordinances."

It is also a principle of Congregationalism, deduced from the

same authority, that a church should ordinarily consist of only so many members as can conveniently assemble together for public worship, the celebration of religious ordinances, and the transaction of church business. The Greek word commonly translated church in the New Testament, is used indiscriminately to designate either the whole body of Christians, or a single congregation of professed believers, united together for religious purposes. It is used in the latter sense in more than sixty different instances. If "the church at Jerusalem," "the church at Antioch," "the church at Corinth," "the church at Ephesus," &c., had not been regarded by the sacred writers as constituting each an entire and complete church, how easy it would have been to speak of them respectively, as that portion of the church of Christ residing at one place or the other. Such being the character of the apostolic churches, the Congregationalists infer that such should be the character of all Christian churches, in all countries and in all periods of time.

We have already stated that Congregationalism vests all church power in the hands of those who constitute the church.

These are the great principles which constitute the rock whereon rests the fair fabric of the system. Its adherents refer to Jesus Christ as the author of their church polity, and from the Scriptures themselves derive their principles and doctrines. But the testimony of many of the most ancient fathers, as well as the judgment of many learned and impartial modern writers on ecclesiastical history, attests the correctness of their interpretation of the Scriptures. The work before us contains copious extracts from the writings of Clement, Polycarp, Ignatius, and others, ancient and modern, conclusive to this purport.

No churches can show a purer or more blameless practice than those organized on the principles of Congregationalism. The system combines energy and efficiency with order and regularity, and is eminently adapted to effect the great purpose of church organization.

Among the advantages peculiar to Congregationalism, besides its conformity to the polity of the apostolical churches, not the least is its encouragement of self-government, beyond any other system. The Puritans, when at Leyden, professed democratical sentiments in relation to civil government, and before landing upon the rock of Plymouth, they adopted a brief but comprehensive constitution, containing, says Pitkin, the elements of those forms of government peculiar to the new world.

Previously to the American Revolution, Mr. Jefferson declared church government on Congregational principles to be the only form of pure democracy that then existed in the world, and the

best plan of government for the American colonies. To Congregationalism we doubtless owe the free and happy structure of our political institutions; for wherein they are not directly imitated from that excellent model, they were framed by those whose minds were deeply imbued with the spirit and liberality of its principles. If Congregationalism does not unavoidably lead to the establishment of a democracy, it certainly favors that form of government.

It also promotes general intelligence beyond any other form of church government. In illustration of this, let the population of New England be compared with that of other lands where a different polity prevails. Congregationalism is the offspring of intelligence, and demands more of it in the mass of the church than any other system.

The very able and interesting work of which we have briefly recapitulated a few of the arguments, has been published in one duodecimo volume, by Allen, Morrill and Wardwell, of Andover; and Mark H. Newman, of this city.

RIGHTS OF THE CHURCH.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 10, 1844.]

The Rev. Dr. Cunningham preached in the Tabernacle on Sabbath evening, to a very large audience. The primary object of the sermon was to prove that Jesus Christ had established a kingdom on earth, and as to all matters of ecclesiastical polity was the ruler in that kingdom, and had given it a code of laws which its members were bound to obey; that these laws required the church to control within itself, the whole matter of its worship and the appointment of its officers; and that with the privileges of Christ's kingdom so constituted, no civil magistrate had any authority to interfere.

This is not an uncommon mode of arguing the subject; yet it seems to us quite defective and erroneous. Before the Free Church of Scotland shall establish real liberty, and accomplish the will of God completely, it must, we are persuaded, take different ground from this.

The proposition of Dr. Cunningham is, in the first place, untrue. Christ has not established any church to be recognized and dealt with as a kingdom, or an organization at all. His kingdom is a spiritual kingdom, having its existence in the *hearts* of men, and over his church as a great *spiritual* community He reigns, and for it has made laws; but a kingdom of this world, He established none, not even in the name of a church or a kirk,

with a Papa or a General Assembly as His Vicegerent, possessing power to negotiate with the State, or set bounds to civil authority.

Besides, the theory of Dr. Cunningham would be inapplicable, if true. Suppose the Savior had established a code of laws for his church when it should exhibit itself visibly before men; the Scotch Kirk is not that church. On the contrary, recent events have proved that the old kirk is a body inimical to the true spirit of Christ, and persecuting it by various measures which it certainly would not adopt if its governing members had themselves that spirit; and the possession of that spirit is the only test left us of citizenship in the kingdom. Dr. Cunningham felt this difficulty; for he said, as we understood him, that the exemption from civil obligations extended to any association *professing* to be a church of Christ. But if Christ as King in Zion established a code of laws for his kingdom, it must have been for his *real* kingdom, his true subjects; and certainly Satan cannot get up a church of his own, and claim immunities for it under the dispensation of the true church.

Another difficulty with the position of Dr. Cunningham is, that while it protects the true church from the oppression of civil tyrants, it leaves them altogether at the mercy of *ecclesiastical* tyrants, and these are commonly much worse than the others. Under the pretense of authority from Christ, they do, in many cases, most cruelly oppress and destroy his true disciples; in truth, nothing has been so much the object of the hot hatred of ecclesiastical rulers, as the men who have most thoroughly copied the spirit and most implicitly obeyed the laws of their Spiritual King.

The truth about the matter is, that the right to hold opinions upon religious subjects and all other subjects, and to act under the influence of those opinions, whether they bring men to worship God or to refuse to worship Him, is not derived from any associated condition, but is an *individual* right, pertaining to *every man* as he came from the hand of his Maker, entrusted with faculties, surrounded by influences, and pressed with obligations. Every man in his own title has the right to think for himself, to associate with others, and to select teachers and helps of every sort to carry out his opinions, without the interference compulsorily of any man or body of men, whether they be kings or prelates, parliaments or presbyters. This principle sets men truly free. It disenthralls and makes them men. It is by this right, that the kingdom of Christ is protected, and according to this principle it is constructed. It exempts men alike from civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, and prescribes the limits of jurisdiction

to governments of both sorts. A council, a bishop, a presbytery, or a consociation, has upon this principle no more right to dictate what men shall believe, or who shall be their religious teachers, than a king or a president. It secures the same rights to infidels and Christians, to papists and protestants, to churchmen and quakers, to those who are in the church and those who are out of it. When the principle is thoroughly learned, the Reformation will so far be perfected; the Free Church of Scotland will be truly free, and the process of bringing men really and truly into the kingdom of Christ, will be likely to go on much more rapidly than it has done since this principle became obscured and was ultimately lost in the first centuries of the Christian era.

We make these remarks with great respect towards the gentleman whose discourse has been the immediate occasion of them, and in the hope that they may possibly help the noble Free Church of Scotland so to start in her new enterprise, that another separation for conscience' sake may not be necessary in some future century, when the rights of individual men shall be more fully comprehended. We hope also that truths so plain may soon be more fully recognized in free America. "The spirit of the age" does powerfully tend that way.

CHURCHES AND POLITICS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, June* 11, 1844.]

THE ecclesiastical convention of the Methodist denomination seem to be bringing their political discussions to a crisis. The result will probably be a separation. The break is to be at Mason and Dixon's line,—a weaker spot than is to be found elsewhere, and so often bent that there is perhaps some anger that the political ligaments may one day separate. However, political unions would seem to be stronger than ecclesiastical unions, so that while the latter break, the former may hope still to hold out. It seems to us that if the professed disciples of Christ understood, as well as they might, the single subject which so moved his compassion, they would hardly spend their time in forming national churches at all, much less in those wranglings which break them in pieces after they are constructed. Christ said nothing about slavery, though he condemned oppression, and propounded principles which are sure, when thoroughly adopted, we think, to put an end to the system the world over. But there was another slavery so incomparably worse, to which the

whole family of man had voluntarily surrendered up themselves, that He seems hardly to have noticed political bondage. His immediate disciples, full of the same spirit, went every where preaching that men should repent. Preachers now-a-days do the same, and when the harvest of their converts is gathered into a company, it is an *Anti-Slavery Society*. It is a Church of Christ, *alias*, an Anti-Slavery Society, a Temperance Society, and in general, a society of all work. In religious matters it is conscience which prompts men on; in war it is honor. But from the manner in which the prompter operates, there is reason to suspect that the animating spirit is often identical in both cases and not exactly either of the principles whose name it takes.

If men would carry on moral reforms or political revolutions, let them do so, and create their associations as they please; but when they form a church of Christ, let it be an association of His disciples—nothing more, and nothing less. If these disciples differ in opinion about the best man for the Presidency of the United States, let them push their differences as hard as they please, but not on the church. If they want to abolish slavery or intemperance, and if they believe total abstinence the proper remedy, let them urge it as they think proper; but so long as it is possible for a man to own slaves, or to drink wine, or belong to a masonic lodge, and still be a Christian, these things cannot, except upon plans altogether schismatic, be made tests in the church. It is the spirit of the world, and not the spirit of Christ, which makes them so. The exclamation of Robert Hall, "he who is good enough for Christ, is good enough for me," is the only principle of common sense, as it is of sound Christianity. Until Christians adopt this principle, they can never have peaceful churches, and their quarrels will be ever deranging the better management of politicians.

A CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

New York, *December*, 1844.

To the Editors of the New England Puritan:

Gentlemen: In your paper of November 8th, 1844, are published the proceedings of the "Manhattan Congregational Union." That our brethren in New England may have a correct understanding of the whole matter, you are respectfully requested by the delegates from the Tabernacle, to publish the enclosed document, exhibiting the arguments and decision of that Church in regard to the Union. Your readers by referring to the Puritan, will notice that the quotations from the Constitution do not agree with the instrument as sent to you. This is explained by the fact, that the Union when it came together, changed the

phraseology from what it was when submitted to the Churches, though I do not perceive that the meaning is essentially altered.

Yours truly,

ONE OF THE DELEGATES.

To the Rev. O. S. St. John, Scribe of Convention, &c.:

BY a vote of the Convention which met at the Broadway Tabernacle and formed the Constitution of a Congregational Union, it was made the duty of the delegates to submit that Constitution to their respective churches, and to notify the Scribe of Convention of the result.

The undersigned delegates from the Broadway Tabernacle Church have now to report, that the Constitution was by them submitted to the Church and received the earnest attention which its importance demanded. The clause defining the powers of the proposed Union, received especial attention. That clause reads as follows:—

ART. 2. This body shall be strictly advisory in its character, professing no powers of government either legislative or administrative; nor exercising any appellate jurisdiction over the churches; it shall be only a council where the learned, the wise, and the good of our churches may consult together respecting all matters pertaining to the welfare of the churches which may demand their attention; and its decisions shall, in all cases, possess no more binding authority than their truthful character, and the weight of combined wisdom and piety in the body, can give them.

The discussion drew together a very full attendance of the members of the church, and was continued by adjournment for three evenings.

In favor of the plan, it was urged that union is a fundamental principle of Christianity, exhibited by it at all times, and that Congregationalism falls in with and encourages this disposition; that the churches all over New England are organized upon some plan of association and that the proposed Union was, therefore, in accordance with the usages with which our church more particularly sympathized; that in Connecticut and Rhode Island the union was through the agency of Consociations, which are generally authoritative bodies empowered to determine and make final issue of the matters brought before them; that in Maine the union is by Conferences possessing no authority but that of opinion; and that in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont, the churches have associations under various names, but in their general bearing like the Conferences of Maine. The Constitution under consideration, it was urged, belonged not to the order of Consociation but of Conference; that it was therefore in conformity with the institutions of the most jealous Con-

gregationalists, and that the body proposed to be created by it, possessing no authority, could not be injurious in its operation, and ought not to be treated with distrust; that in fact without any possibility of mischief, it would do great good by strengthening the churches, which were in general feeble and surrounded by neighbors not sympathizing with their polity, and so greatly in need of some bond of union to which they might look as a center of affection, sympathy and support; that the proposal had grown out of the wants and expressed desires of the churches, some of whom felt the necessity so much that they would be likely to ally themselves to the neighboring Presbyteries unless some plan of this sort should be adopted. Various instances of the good effect of united action were adduced in confirmation of these views.

On the other hand it was argued, that the Tabernacle Church had enjoyed great union and prosperity in its present position, and so far as its own interests had weight, ought to scrutinize, with great care, any proposition for a material change; that it was a mistake to suppose that organizations like this pervaded New England generally; that in fact through Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont there were, beyond the Associations of the ministers, very few organizations of any sort, and that those which did exist were only arrangements for *religious meetings* by the assembling together of neighboring churches; and that the Conferences of Maine were intended to go no farther; and by their rules were forbidden from exercising any such general supervision "respecting all matters pertaining to the welfare of the churches which may demand their attention" as was to be the special business of the proposed Union; that, in fact, the Constitution under consideration was unlike anything to be found elsewhere among Congregationalists, being neither a court with authority, nor a religious meeting, but a sort of diocesan "busybody about other men's matters," with no bounds to its interference, and so, in some respects, more objectionable than a body possessing defined *authority;* that such an organization was unscriptural, no record of any such thing being found in the Acts of the Apostles or anywhere else in the New Testament, the union of the primitive churches being that of the heart, and of ready coöperation upon emergencies, but without any permanently organized body of any sort; that under this arrangement, the Christians just converted from heathenism enjoyed a "liberty and union" which made them more efficient than the churches have ever been since; that it was in departing from this union of hearts, and attempting to strengthen themselves by arrangements like the one proposed, that the organized unity be-

gan of that great hierarchy which carried the churches back, in a mass, to idolatry; that with that example before modern Christians, we should be inexcusable were we to take one step in the same road; that the primitive independence of the churches was the palladium of their liberty, their union, their purity of doctrine, and their efficient evangelical action.

It was further urged that the proposed Union was wrong, inasmuch as it virtually placed the advisory supervision of the churches in the hands of a *class* of the brethren, in contradiction to the primitive example, when the "whole church," including all classes, was the only body appealed to, and that the departures from the primitive plan had proved exceedingly injurious; that the benefits of formal union, if there were such, could be better attained by an organization of pastors and brethren in a voluntary and distinct society, not involving the authority or the organization of the churches, and so requiring no *Church* action, and exciting no discontent or jealousy; that the events now transpiring in other denominations proved that supervisory church organizations were but organizations of discord, which, when extended to a national character, presented the clergy and laity in great councils of acrimonious controversy, dishonorable to religion, agitating to the churches, and in every way productive of mischiefs which were poorly compensated by the benefits supposed to be secured; that this proposed union must, like the organizations alluded to, be inevitably a center for agitating the topics of the day, and would almost of necessity, involve us in the great calamity of being compelled to attend to and participate in those controversies; that now, we could measure the extent of our difficulties, and provide for them, but so associated, could never know when a subject was finished; that even the Conferences of Maine were looked upon with a watchful jealousy which was undesirable: that the Consociations of Connecticut had been matter of controversy from the beginning, the effects of which were visible in the great variety of powers which they possessed, being, in fact, in each case, so much as the friends of ecclesiastical government had been able to acquire, in spite of its opponents; that the existence of such bodies caused the non-assenting churches to be objects of unkind suspicion, so breaking up real union; that upon the whole, the proposed union was unscriptural, uncongregational, unnecessary and dangerous, and finally, in direct contravention of the proper design of churches, and of our own fundamental rule defining that design, which is as follows: "The design of a Christian church we understand to be the enjoyment of Christian ordinances, and the maintenance of the worship of God." This fundamental rule, it was said, had

been thoroughly discussed and agreed upon at the organization of the church, and was intended to be construed strictly, and to preclude everything but the two designs specified; that this, being another design, was therefore precluded. Instances were adduced of the great injury which particular churches had suffered from being associated with bodies having the right to *advise* them.

In the course of the discussion, letters were read from many distinguished individuals, both of the clergy and laity of New England, stating facts and opinions, bearing upon the case, and also extensive quotations from Punchard, Coleman, Bacon, Cheever, and other writers, who had elucidated the principles involved in the debate.

The discussion was terminated by the introduction of the following resolution, by a brother who had taken no active part in the debate, and being assented to by those, on both sides, who had been active, passed with great unanimity, as follows, to wit:

"Whereas the subject of forming a Congregational Union has been presented to this Church—and whereas there exists amongst us a diversity of opinion as to the utility of such a measure—therefore,

"*Resolved*, That without expressing any opinion as to the merits or demerits of the proposed organization, we deem it inexpedient at present to take any action in relation thereto."

We have thought it important to give this synopsis to the Convention, and the churches which they represent, that our sister churches may not attribute the result to any want of affectionate regard, or desire of gospel union with them, but may know the reasons, truly, which have controlled us. Throughout the discussion, the most affectionate regard was expressed towards all the churches, and we are happy to acknowledge ourselves already in a union with them, which imposes on us the responsibility of rendering to them a frank and full account of what we have done. We are happy to assure our brethren that the members of the Tabernacle Church feel committed as sharers with them of their sorrows and their joys, and are ready to coöperate with them for the promotion of the common good, and the glory of our common Lord.

Wishing to the Convention and to all our brethren, grace, mercy, and peace, in the liberty and efficiency of apostolic order, we subscribe ourselves their servants in the bonds of Christ.

DAVID HALE,
ALBERT WOODRUFF,
SAMUEL PITTS,
JOSEPH HARRIS,
} *Delegates of the Broadway Tabernacle Church.*

RELIGION AND SECTARIANISM.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 14, 1845.]

It is generally true that when religion is low, sectarianism is high,—and when religion is high, sectarianism is low. If we see a man full of denunciation against his fellow Christians of other denominations, he generally has but little piety himself. To be sure a good man will think it his duty to denounce immorality, and the more if it is covered up under the cloak of religion. But sectarianism is in general not a matter of virtue against vice, nor of fundamental truth against fundamental error, but it finds its importance in external forms, or in minor matters of belief. It belongs often not so much to matters of faith, of personal piety or practice, as to church government, or the way of management. Nine-tenths of the quarrels among professing Christians are about wood, hay, and stubble,—things which on both sides will be altogether burned up and cast away at the last. The preaching of Christ, and the men who learned of him, was seldom denunciatory. Now and then there came forth a portentous "Wo unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites;" but more frequently the strain was, "Oh! Jerusalem, Jerusalem." The truth has been spread in the same spirit so far as it has been spread at all. Denunciation and excommunication have done but little, except when applied to open vice, for the preservation of purity or faith. In fact, three-fourths of the excommunications which have taken place in the name of Christianity, have been the anathemas of error and vice against truth and virtue. Pride has excommunicated humility; hypocrisy, sincerity; and selfish tyranny, humble benevolence. Almost always the men who have exhibited most of the spirit of the founder of Christianity, have been the objects of persecution and scorn, and certainly none with this spirit were ever persecutors. The common people are seldom violent sectarians, unless excited to it by their leaders; and the leaders, it is to be feared, are more frequently violent in their denunciations for the sake of the emoluments or authority of office, than from regard to the honor of Christianity. Real piety is in the way of such motives. There is no money to be made, no great authority to be exercised by it. To go about doing good, and to call every man a brother, is its delight. This spirit thwarts the plans and condemns the practices of aspirants, both in state and church. Christianity is a great leveler. It begins with the broad equality of men, and puts upon each man such great importance that office loses its consequence and its power. A bad man, however high in office or wealth, is, by the measure of Christianity, put far beneath the poorest disciple in the estimate of both

God and man. It is not strange, therefore, that the proud, the ambitious, the bad of every name, should hate and seek to destroy the persons who, by merely imitating the example of their Master, bring discredit on bad great men. Excommunication is therefore brought in to get rid of them, and so industriously is the knife applied, that the sound fruit is sometimes cut away until little remains except a rotten core.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGULATION.

[From the Journal of Commerce, March 11, 1846.]

Dr. Woods, of Andover Theological Seminary, as chairman of a committee, has published a long report and a plan for systematizing Congregationalism in Massachusetts, so that it may act as a denomination like other sects. Strange that a man of the experience and wisdom of Dr. Woods, should not be informed that regulation has always been the curse of religion. The disciples of Christ were never so free from regulation as in the days of the apostles, and never were so mighty in their efforts. Then every believer was a fully authorized priest, and all the regulation prescribed to them was, that in their meetings they should speak one at a time. Regulation afterwards overthrew the work which liberty had accomplished, and carried christendom back to idolatry. In Luther's Reformation it was *truth* untrammeled by regulation, which did the work. Every man was a preacher again in those times, and mighty things were done. So, Wickliffe, long before, unembarrassed by regulation, and without the help of printing, circulated the Bible and Bible truth in England, until the ground heaved beneath the hierarchy, and the nation came near a revolution. It is liberty, individual free action—that is mighty. Regulation is wanted in military warfare, but not in that which is intellectual or moral. "Every man on his own hook," is the discipline of efficiency in spreading truth, and it is the discipline which brings about the best order also. But no sooner has individual liberty brought truth into power, than the Rev. Doctors bring out their curb-bits and halters and breech-bands, to stay the resistless steed and "regulate" his speed. But for this regulation the world would long ago have been a Christian world. Regulation has killed everything. It has been Satan's great engine, both in politics and religion, for the debasement of mankind.

How can a man who loves the peaceful churches of New Eng-

land desire to form them, and Congregationalists everywhere, into a national denomination? Now those churches, next to families, are the happiest associations on earth. They are united for mutual improvement, and the benefit of the people around them. They have no troubles but such as originate in their own little circle, and these are settled generally within the same circle. If they were regulated into a national denomination, they would, like all other national denominations, be agitated by some great bugbear which is brought upon the national stage. The Abolitionists have broken the national churches of the Baptists and Methodists in twain; the Presbyterians have broken by their own weight; and if we may judge by appearances, the Episcopal church is in some danger of a similar result. The two Presbyterian schools have yet a North and South question on hand, and if the Abolitionists could really contrive to break all these national arrangements into a thousand pieces, in our humble judgment it would be one of the greatest blessings that could befall religion or its professors in the various denominations.

"Why may we not," says Dr. Woods, "have a Congregational Union in this country, as they have in England, Scotland and Wales." It ought to be understood that the Congregationalists of Britain have been one of the most thoroughly united and efficient bodies in the world. They have prospered and increased abundantly, until they number some twenty-five hundred churches, each one a perfect body in itself, and yet united by unity of sentiment and feeling with all the rest, until this poor plan of regulation, or in other words hierarchical union, was taken up by some of the pastors, and it has been a source of discord ever since. Two-thirds of the churches perhaps are in the Union, and one-third out; so making two sects, and very essentially interrupting their harmony and efficiency. Christians may well cry everywhere, "Oh that the pastors would teach us, and as to all the rest, let us alone." "Let us alone—let us alone"—was the wise answer of the French merchants when Bonaparte asked what he could do for them. So truly Christians will say to all these plans of regulation. Truth is mighty when joined with liberty, but its effective power is diminished just as its liberty is taken away. Congregationalism has too much regulation in New England already. New England was by the pious Puritans laid out in towns and parishes, with local boundaries established by law. The parishes were designed as the boundaries of religious societies. The Congregational pastors have by a code of etiquette similar to that which governs physicians, made each pastor an absolute bishop in his own little diocese, so far that no other bishop of the same denomination can officiate therein but by invitation of the

resident. In Connecticut a mongrel hierarchy or regulator called Consociation has been established, by which the pastors of a county combine to control ecclesiastical affairs within the county. These are both arrangements of the pastors to "regulate" the churches, and although well meant, are extremely unwise and injurious, and under their influence more discontent is engendered, and more rival sects introduced, than in any other way. If the Congregationalists of New England would prosper in the highest degree, they must not add more regulation, but, if possible, disenthrall themselves from what they now have.

Speaking of union among Christians and about ecclesiastical affairs, we will just say that it does not seem to us that the great Doctors have as yet, to any considerable extent, caught the right plan to bring it about. World's Conventions will not do it; Councils out West will not bring it about. One grand defect of these councils and conventions is, that they are always sectarian in their very plan; and so antagonistical, instead of congenial. They do not embrace the entire church of Christ scattered through the rubbish of multiplied denominations. Then there is this grand trouble in the case. It is an attempt to *create* harmony by the adoption of a certain *creed*; whereas the harmony must be pre-existent, having its residence in the understanding and feelings of men. It cannot be created by resolutions and proclamations. For the present there is an insuperable obstacle in the way of Christian union. Men and good men have no correct notion of that great thing *toleration*. Toleration must be the corner-stone of union. Before men can form a sound union, they must agree to differ, and agree that each one has a right to his peculiar opinions. Toleration is not yet established—no, not among Protestants, by a great deal. That great doctrine of liberty so much vaunted, that every man has a *right* to reason and believe for himself, and worship according to the dictates of his own conscience, however much it may be lauded in public, is very little cherished in the breasts of men. The world is not ripe for union yet, and something besides councils is necessary to ripen it. The sun of truth must shine upon the Christian world for some time yet to come, before it will be ready for union. Men's minds must be ennobled and expanded, and made generous, not to the abandonment of truth, but to the holding of it in love. The process is an intellectual one. He who brings out a single truth so as to command universal consent, has done more to create union than all the councils that were ever held. The intercourse and good feeling of councils may help on union, but their proclamations and creeds not at all. In truth, the conclusions of councils are seldom exactly true, for they are compromises, taking their

seat between many stools, and so not exactly on any one. Individual belief is more often exactly right. In fact, there is a promise of guidance and help to individuals, but none at all to councils.

CONGREGATIONALISM.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 28, 1846.]

PASSING events indicate that the polity of this denomination, which claims to be the freest in the world, must come under the common discussion, and answer with others to the charge of upholding a hierarchy. The theory of Congregationalism is, as we understand it, that every local church is complete in itself, with full power, without the assistance or assent of others, to perfect its organization and carry on its operations; that it can invite, install, and dismiss its officers, and that the officers are equally free to accept, continue, and resign, according to their own pleasure, and that every member is equally free to choose his own field of usefulness, responsible to the association only for a general deportment becoming a Christian profession, and the performance of such labors as he voluntarily engages to undertake. That compulsion which requires a man to submit to the control of others, especially, which compels a parish to accept, keep, listen to, or support, a pastor whom they do not approve, or compels a pastor to settle with or remain with a parish, when he thinks he should be more useful or more happy elsewhere, the theory of Congregationalism rejects. The Pilgrims thought that religious liberty involved not only the right to think and speak, but the right to choose teachers and leaders in worship. They did not understand how a congregation could worship according to the dictates of their conscience, when obliged to listen to instructions which they deemed heretical, or to worship in any way which contradicted their conscience. Notwithstanding these thoroughly radical principles of independency, it has been the custom of Congregationalists to call councils at the settlement and dismission of ministers, and on other occasions, with the oft-repeated declaration, however, that these councils were only advisory in their decisions, and their public performances only suitable ceremonies, and not of any necessity or binding obligation. It was on such grounds that the polity of Congregationalism came some years ago, and under peculiar circumstances, before the courts of Massachusetts. Ministers, whom their parishes had resolved no longer to employ, continued to tender their services, and then

brought suits for their salaries. The supreme court of that State declared, that as it was a *custom* to settle and dismiss ministers by councils, and as the contract was indefinite as to time, a minister who had been settled by a council could not be otherwise dismissed; for that, by *custom*, this had become *law*. When a minister had been dismissed by his parish, and had declared that he would not consent to a mutual council, and the parish had thereupon called an *ex-parte* council which determined that he ought to be and was dismissed, the court held that he was not, because it was not demanded of him *at the time* that he should unite in the council. The society then called another council, as the court had ordered, demanding of the minister to unite in it, which he refused; and that council determined as the other had done, and dismissed the minister for the third time. But still the court held that he was not dismissed, because some of the same men were on the second council that were on the first, and this rendered its proceedings null and void; for that a man could not be a judge who had already made up and declared his mind. We state these points from recollection, but they are substantially correct. Thus the courts of Massachusetts, while they disclaimed all interference with ecclesiastical affairs, and refused to inquire whether a minister had broken his contract by preaching exactly opposite doctrine from that which he was employed to preach, did really overthrow the whole fabric of Congregational liberty, and establish mutual councils, which might or might not be possible to be obtained, as ecclesiastical tribunals, holding the parishes and pastors in absolute control. Under these legal decisions some parishes have been despoiled of their estates by ministers who refused to go away, though after being told that their services were not wanted and would not be tolerated. Oppressive as these strange legal doctrines have been, it is difficult to correct the mischief; for the time of settling a pastor is not a time when it is agreeable to talk of, or make provision for, the dissolution of the connection. Several cases have occurred lately, in which the doings of councils in overruling the liberty of pastors or parishes, or both, have attracted unusual attention.

Not many months ago, one of the churches in Boston invited Mr. Reid, of Salisbury, Ct., to become their pastor, and he accepted the invitation; but the consociation, which was the council in the case, and claimed authority, refused their assent. Not very long ago, a parish in the same neighborhood desired, with entire unanimity, to instal a particular minister as their pastor, who had accepted their invitation; but the consociation refused their assent, and as the consociation claimed final jurisdiction in

the case, the wish of both minister and people was set at nought. Out of the jurisdiction of consociations new councils would have been called, until one was found which would perform the customary services of an installation.

Just now a similar result with that first named has happened before a mutual council, called in the matter of the invitation presented by the Church of the Pilgrims to Mr. Storrs, of Brookline, near Boston. Mr. Storrs, as Mr. Reid had done, declared his clear conviction that duty required him to accept the invitation; but the council in this case also refused assent. It is understood that the ministers were in favor of dismissing Mr. Storrs, and the laymen against it. In both cases the gentlemen are compelled to remain and labor, contrary to their convictions of duty. Such forced relations can hardly be expected to last long, or be quite happy while they continue. If a minister or parish have *doubts* about what ought to be done, they may well ask advice and abide by it; but it is a new doctrine among Congregationalists, that councils shall compel, or courts compel, or anything compel, the beginning or continuance of pastoral relations, when either party is distinctly desirous of their termination; and the fact that these modern proceedings do indeed overthrow the whole Congregational plan of free action, must bring up the question, whether a new practice ought not to be adopted, by which councils shall be dispensed with. Certainly we should think the Puritan spirit of liberty must be considerably tamed, if such absoluteness of councils is long endured.

DR. BEECHER ON CHRISTIAN UNION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, October* 15, 1846.]

A CROWDED audience assembled at the Broadway Tabernacle on Sabbath evening, to hear Dr. Beecher's views of the late meeting in London of the Evangelical Alliance. Dr. Beecher will always have great assemblies to hear him, as long as he is able to speak. He speaks from a generous and full soul, and is a strong independent mind. His thoughts are usually right; but whether right or wrong, they are always great thoughts.

He began his discourse by stating the great truth that the real Church of Christ is always a unity. That is a proposition self-evident, as well as evident from the teaching of the New Testament. The disciples of every master are a unity, for it is the adoption of the same precepts of the master, which makes them disciples. The true disciples of Thomas Jefferson are a unity.

Many may call themselves disciples from interested motives, or from ignorance of what he taught, and some may think themselves his disciples who are not, because they have been too careless to find out accurately what he did teach. Such persons may form as many Jeffersonian Societies as they will,—it does not make them at all the more his disciples. The disciples of Christ must be a unity, therefore, and of an infinitely higher nature than is suggested by this illustration. But Dr. Beecher seemed to confuse this idea by passing to the multitude of Christian churches of all denominations, and speaking of them as if they were this very unity, or were composed of this very same united and true church. That this is not so, and in fact that all these associations are almost certain to have more or less persons in them who do not belong to the real unity, and that it is quite possible to form such a nominal church without a single such person in it, is quite as evident as the proposition of real unity among real disciples.

Dr. Beecher spoke eloquently of the value of "union for the sake of union," and it seemed to us most truly. Happiness is the object of all effort, and what brings such a flood of that, as union, and above all, Christian union? To make such a thing universal, or even extensive, is worth all the labor that it can cost. Indeed, to see so good a man as Dr. Beecher made as happy as he evidently was made by the convocation at London, would, to a generous heart, be compensation enough for all the trouble and expense of that great gathering. Said the Doctor: "The first I saw of it was in my newspaper, as I was silently reading it. I'll go! I'll go! I exclaimed. Go where? said my wife. I'll go! I'll go! said I. Go *where?* said my wife, thinking I had gone crazy. Why to London, said I, to this Christian Union." Who shall say, after the mere idea of union has so stirred the blood of such a man as if it were the blood of a boy, that union for the sake of union is nothing; nay, that it is not a glorious thing, worthy the aspirations and the efforts of every good man?

Dr. Beecher expatiated largely upon the evils of dissension and sectarian controversies in the church, meaning, as it seemed, the visible churches, and at the same time the true church. He said that while the enemies of Christ were united and concentrated, the different divisions of the church had been divided, expending half their strength in opposing each other, and leaving but half with which to oppose the united hosts of the common enemy;—really doing little but marching backwards and forwards. The ground gained by the Reformation had in this way been half of it lost, and all would be lost unless the church could be concentrated and organized in unity. If an organized unity could be effected; if the mighty hosts of the church, who were fighting in little

squads or individually, and so much against each other, could be wheeled upon the right and the left into one grand united army, the victory would be sure and speedy, and the triumph glorious. We confess that almost all this seemed to us entirely erroneous. It is not certain, by a great deal, that the division of Protestant Christians into various denominations, to some extent antagonistic to each other, has really lessened their success. At any rate, such divisions were a necessary consequence of thinking. If men do not think, they may perhaps think alike, to use a solecism; or if they have no intelligent belief of anything, then they may all believe as they are told. But if they think and reason, they will come to different conclusions; and who can say that there has been, in the aggregate, less real union and hearty coöperation, because men have fallen apart and fallen together according to the affinities which have resulted from universal thinking. The object of effort has after all been the same; the design harmonious; and however much men may love to do good for the sake of goodness, they are not yet so high in virtue, that a little rivalry in the common cause may not add to the common result. General Taylor's volunteers fight all the better because they have been found in different States. But after all, we shall not deny that sectarianism has often been carried to wicked and injurious extremes. Yet it is not a thing of such unmingled mischief as the Doctor represented it. To assume that next to nothing has been accomplished in the last fifty years; nay, that to go on as we are going will end in ruin, it seems to us is denying the facts of which every man is cognizant. Knowledge and Christian charity, and the dominion of true Bible principles, have been spreading, and are spreading gloriously on every hand, and faster and faster the good work goes on in each revolving year. That a great organization into visible unity would give us the victory, we do not believe at all. It was just this scheme which set the Pope on his throne, and carried the Christian Church in one grand organized unity back to Paganism. Equally incorrect is the notion that the enemies of Christianity have acted in unity, they have been at least as much divided as Christians have been. No, it is not organization, but *freedom*, that religion wants to insure success. It was individual freedom which gave to Christianity its early triumphs, and organization that threw away all the labor. Yet men, and good and wise men, will learn nothing by the tremendous disaster. Instead of trusting to their Master and his truth, the panoply of the gospel, in single-handed warfare, they will still try to establish little popedoms and great popedoms, and rely on organization and combination, contrary to the commands of the Great Captain, and all experience. For ourselves, if we must have one

great central organized union, we should not care much whether its seat were at London or at Rome. If men would but philosophize a little, they would see that truth is not strengthened by alliances and organizations. Physical force is increased by the accumulation of numbers, but truth is, just as mighty when lisped by a child or a beggar, as when proclaimed from the head of assembled legions. Ideas seek deliverance from the incumbrances of such things. Reason asks for reasoning; truth calls for preachers,—individual men going forth to proclaim and prove it. What does a syllogism prove more, when propounded by ten thousand men, than by one man? How is the testimony of the Scripture writers more convincing because enforced by the united resolution of a multitude, than by one single tongue. This notion, that great organizations are to strengthen truth or secure real unity, is as unphilosophical as it is unscriptural. The effect of such things has always been to embarrass that free individual effort, that must do about all that is done to spread knowledge and truth. Associations for certain specific objects, may be useful. Small contributions may be gathered into a common treasury, and so, little drops make an ocean; but this is a very different thing from ecclesiastical organizations. If these organizations assume any general supervision of individual conduct, they would fall into common error. But we must leave our readers to think out the rest of this topic, hoping only that we have said enough to be understood, and not misunderstood.

Dr. Beecher repeated the representation so often made, that the crowned heads of Europe are conniving with the Pope to resist the spread of knowledge, and especially of Christian knowledge, among the people; and that a mighty combination is forming which will one day burst with overwhelming force upon the church. We suppose that he is entirely mistaken in all this, and we think imputations so injurious should either be sustained by some proof, or omitted. What is there upon the face of Europe now to authorize such a charge? Doubtless there are crowned heads in Europe who are quite two jealous and fearful of liberty. And this is not strange, when among ourselves there are so many thousands of intelligent men who are all the time in alarm at the dreaded effects of self-government. Everywhere men are afraid to trust themselves to the democracy of their fellow-men. The rulers of Europe are not likely to be more free from such fears, than other men; and they *are* fearful of bloody and violent revolutions, and have entered into alliances to help each other against *them*. But that they have entered into any alliance to prevent the circulation of Bible truth, is in our judgment not only without evidence, but against evidence. We thought there was

strength in the remarks of the Catholic Freeman's Journal, when it replied to this assertion the other day by saying, that the prime minister of Catholic France is a Protestant, and of Catholic Spain a Jew. England is not certainly in this conspiracy, for her Ambassadors are everywhere the protectors of the Bible men against the bigotry of the local church organizations. The prime minister of France is not only a Protestant, but a man of such noble views of government as would adorn any post in our Republic. The old Pope was a narrow-minded bigot, raised in the last century, and never got out of it. But the new Pope seems to be a noble fellow, belonging to this nineteenth century, and likely to adorn it by a liberal policy. Let us be happy about it, and cheer him on by commending what is right. Let us not discourage all right intentions in popes and kings, by pertinacious condemnation of all they do, be it never so patriotic and enlightened.

We regretted to hear Dr. Beecher speak as he did of Romanism in the West, representing its colleges, schools, and cathedrals, as beacons of alarm, outrunning Protestant institutions, and threatening to educate a generation to Romish doctrines, and so consummate the subversion of our free and happy institutions. We know not how a man of so much sagacious observation can speak such things, when less than one generation ago St. Louis, Detroit, and many other important Western places, were possessed by Catholics,—but not one of them is now,—and when in truth the energy of Protestant emigrants, notwithstanding the thousands of imported Catholics, has completely overthrown their supremacy in every direction. Such a day as this is not one for fearfulness, if only men will learn to trust in *God, Truth and Liberty.*

MICHIGAN CITY CONVENTION.

New York, Jan. 29, 1847

To the Editors of the N. E. Puritan:

Gentlemen:—In the New York Evangelist of December 17th, there appeared an article from Dr. Eddy, of Newark, attacking and entirely misrepresenting the Michigan City Convention, and calling Mr. Cooke of your paper and myself by name. The article was "leaded," and put out in the most honorable style. According to all my understanding of rights, and my practice as an editor, I was entitled to reply in my own way, restrained only by parliamentary rules of decorum. I immediately wrote the enclosed, and presented it to the editor of the Evangelist, which, after keeping some five weeks and debating the matter not a little, he declines to print. I hope you will do me the favor to print it. The Evangelist has repeatedly attacked Congregational movements in a

very illiberal way, and this is not the first time that it has altogether refused to correct its misstatements; and yet the paper is considered, I suppose, by many who take it, almost a Congregationalist. If I would write a feeble answer, a sort of half plea of guilty, there would be no difficulty in getting the Evangelist to print it; but if the case of Congregationalism is set out in its triumphant righteousness, it is too dangerous to do it common justice.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

DAVID HALE.

When an individual is assailed by *name*, before the public, he not only has the right to correct the mistakes which have been promulgated, but is under a sort of necessity to do so, in courtesy to his accuser. In Dr. Eddy's "Observations on the West," in your last paper, I expected to find an account of what he saw, but almost the whole article is occupied with criticisms on the Congregational Convention of Michigan City, which he came near to, but did not see.

I am not of the number who feel great reverence for councils. Yet there is a certain amount of courtesy which is due to them and their members—at least the courtesy of truth. When Dr. Eddy names "Mr. Hale, of New York, and Rev. Parsons Cooke, of the Boston Puritan," as persons making special efforts to accomplish what he disapproves, and then strews along such epithets as "narrow prejudice of sect," "sectarian violence," "ultra Congregationalists," "narrow sectarianism," and in contrast with these puts down "men of enlarged views, of Catholic spirit, and genuine piety," I think he does discredit to the bump of veneration, which every man should have somewhere about his head. When he speaks of "the wildness and laxness of the English Independents of the 17th century," he must refer to Oliver Cromwell, John Milton, and their associates. Such things have been said of those men a million of times by Romanists and Episcopalians, but they do discredit either to the historic intelligence or Christian fairness of a divine who would build his churches on the platform of the Westminster Catechism.

But to come to the important matter of the *Congregational Convention of Michigan City*. That is important, and being so ought to be correctly understood by both Congregationalists and Presbyterians. To make it so understood is my design in writing this article: for as to Mr. Cooke, I shall leave him to his own care; and my own poor name has been and continues to be so kicked about, that another kick from even a very respectable source would not be deeply felt.

Dr. Eddy has been peculiarly unhappy in almost all the statements of his article. I do not suppose that "provision was requested for five hundred," though I do not know what some

individuals might have requested. The Convention was not "far from being harmonious." On the question of abrogating the Plan of Union, there was perfect harmony, and that without any persuasion from Mr. Cooke or myself. The Western men called the Convention, and every man, whether from the West or the East, agreed that the plan of 1801 ought to be abandoned, and no new one formed. To be sure, the desire of universal legislation, which so much and so improperly pervades almost all our ecclesiastical bodies, was exhibited there, and some gentlemen thought the Convention should resolve about slavery, perfectionism, temperance, and all the long list of matters which have been so often resolved and re-resolved. But a friendly discussion brought about a general agreement, that the Convention was going out of its design in taking up any of these questions, and they were all withdrawn, though I am sorry to say that one or two resolutions of this sort had been adopted before this fundamental discussion came up. The Convention was eminently harmonious in feeling, and instead of leaving behind the stigma which some ecclesiastical meetings have, that "no revival of religion could survive" them, religion was revived at Michigan City by the religious exercises, and the general deportment of the Convention. The pastor of the church said so, with great joy.

Dr. Eddy misapprehends, and so mistakes entirely, as I think, the past influence of the Plan of Union, and I am sure he wholly misapprehends the design of the Convention. The documents published by the Convention set the matter forth honestly and fairly; and if any one will read them candidly, he will see that there was good reason for what was done. The Plan of Union has all along been a bone of contention, instead of a bond of union. "Presbyterians and Congregationalists at the East, at the West, everywhere, ought to be one," says Dr. Eddy. In my judgment the act of the Michigan City Convention will result in their being better united than before, and was in truth the only way to end the unhappy controversies which have been festering for a long series of years. The two denominations are in many respects alike in this country. Their strength is chiefly among the same classes of society. Their doctrinal faith and modes of presenting it are similar. But in *church organization and government*, there are no two denominations in the land more entirely and utterly at variance. The monarchical arrangements of prelacy are not more entirely opposed to the democratic independency of Congregationalism, than is the ruling eldership of Presbyterianism. The truth is, that the two denominations are well calculated to be friendly neighbors, but not to live in the same house; and I think history proves, that when too close a union is attempted,

Presbyterianism is always the dissatisfied party. In the great Puritan revolution in England, the two denominations acted well together, until prelacy and the first Charles were put down; but then, immediately, the Presbyterians demanded that the Congregationalists should become Presbyterians, and that Presbyterianism should be established in the government. In vain did good Oliver Cromwell and the Independents proclaim perfect religious freedom of belief and worship, and make England then like America now; in vain they urged that men should not be constrained about such matters. The Scotch Presbyterians raised a great army, took Charles the Second into their camp, and marched to overthrow the government which they had fought so long to set up. They preferred the restoration of royalty and prelacy to a freedom which did not recognize their supremacy. It was only by one of the master strokes of gallant genius with which God so often blessed Oliver, that he was able to destroy this Presbyterian army, more than twice as large as his own, and so save England's glorious liberty for that time. If the Presbyterian Puritans could have been persuaded then to adopt the views of religious freedom which the Congregationalists pronounced, the Commonwealth would have lived to this day, and this world have been set on, centuries of civilization and religious glory beyond its present position.

New England was peopled by the Independents, and at more southern points were settlements of Presbyterians. It was natural that in contending against the crown and the Episcopal hierarchy, the two should act as one, and cement again their olden friendship. At the date of the Plan of Union adopted by the General Assembly, and the Connecticut General Association, the horrors of French anarchy had alarmed the pastors and leading men of Connecticut, who instead of turning to more perfect liberty for protection, sought for it in strengthening the hands and increasing the powers of government. It was under such impressions that the Union was formed, and hundreds of Congregational churches west and south of New England advised to assume the Presbyterian form of government. The great mass of the people *in* New England, however, were not disposed to change their home institutions. Thus commenced this new "Plan of Union." But what was this Union? It provided not for amalgamation, not for the rule of one denomination over the other, nor that one should swallow up the other. It was a very slight plan of *intercourse* merely, and if its simplicity had been maintained, there would have been no necessity for the Michigan City Convention.

But, (I trust I may give my views freely and without offense,)

Presbyterians had no thought of *such* an union. They insisted that the union should take the shape of Presbyterianism everywhere. Everything must have the *name*, at least, as far as possible the *powers*, of the Presbytery. Hundreds of Congregational ministers and churches connected themselves with Presbyteries, but *never one* Presbyterian pastor or church, so far as I know, ever thought of such a thing as joining a Congregational Association. Our churches extend the hand of friendship to yours on all our occasions of social intercourse. They have invited you a thousand times to participate in their councils, and you never once returned the civility. Your ministers are received and settled as pastors in our churches, without being asked to abjure their Presbyterianism; but when ours are invited to be pastors of Presbyterian churches, they must answer "the constitutional questions," and subscribe to the whole book, at least "for substance of doctrine." Repeatedly they have been rejected, and a happy prospective relation broken up, because the pastor elect could not subscribe to the exclusive divine right of Presbyterianism.

The churches over the whole Western Reserve, though Congregational still, are organized as Presbyterian, and so are hundreds of churches elsewhere. The young ministers of New England have not carried with them the same spirit of independency which has pervaded other emigrants to the West. They had imbibed the opinions of the early fathers of this century, and everywhere exerted themselves to carry the churches over to thorough Presbyterianism. Some two thousand Congregational churches have, under these influences, been transferred to Presbyterianism. During this display of Christian liberality and denominational Catholicism, the like of which the world never witnessed, you have not allowed a single church to change the other way without the most determined resistance. Yet *you* call *us* bigots, narrow-minded sectarians, and disturbers of Christian peace, because we insist on being Congregationalists, and so maintaining the clear design of the plan of 1801.

While the "time-hallowed plan" was working out these things, the controversy between the Old and New Schools came on in the General Assembly, which continued to burn with fiercer and fiercer fury, until it burst in a dread earthquake, severing the Presbyterian Church in twain, and casting the New School men off as nothing better than Congregationalists! That exhibition of the terrific effects of attempting to mix in one mass things so opposite, startled the churches, and made them inquire for the cause. From that time, the *distinctive* Congregational spirit has been rising. There are multitudes of Christians who have examined the subject, and come to the conclusion that all systems which

create official rule in the church are inconsistent with the example and the precepts of Christ and his inspired followers. They have also come to the conclusion that Congregationalism is altogether better than Presbyterianism—that its government is stronger, more peaceful, better calculated for the education of Christians in high virtue and evangelical action; and that it is above all other systems, fitted to work peacefully in coöperation with the opinions and habits of the free, self-governing people of the United States. We are, therefore, in conscientious earnestness, attempting to promote it; but only, I trust, in such ways as Christian integrity and kindness authorize. All our efforts to establish Congregationalism, or rather to *keep* it among those who were educated in it, have been met with hard names, as Dr. Eddy assails the Michigan Convention. They who attempt to be simple Congregationalists are freely termed disorganizers, bigots, disturbers of the peace, perfectionists, Brownists, sectarians, narrow-minded, and *not* of the New England School. Such efforts are, as Dr. Eddy says the Convention is, everywhere condemned. The truth is that our brethren of the New School have assumed most freely, that the country was theirs, and that Congregationalism had no business anywhere out of New England. Instead of promoting the peace of the Congregational churches, they have been held in constant disturbance by their union with Presbyteries. In numerous instances, where a majority of a Congregational church which had never put itself under the authority of Presbytery have passed votes not approved by Presbytery, jurisdiction has been usurped over the church, and the *minority declared to be the church*, on no other ground than its adherence to the advice or authority of Presbytery; thus often rending the churches in twain, or at least establishing a controversy against the majority sustained by Presbytery, which the life of a generation was not sufficient to heal. In one instance, a Presbytery in Michigan asked leave to hold its session in a Congregational meeting-house, and while enjoying this courtesy, got secretly together the less influential portion of the church, and formed them into a Presbyterian church, and declared them *the Church* in that large town. The church had up to that hour been harmonious, but here was a fire-brand which burned up their peace, until to save religion from ruin, the wronged portion of the church submitted to this ——, I will not give it a name, and now that is a Presbyterian church. One of the Presbyteries in Ohio declared solemnly and publicly, that a church which had adopted the Plan of Union, and so attached itself to the Presbytery, by merely agreeing to send in its statistics, and if it pleased, a delegate, had by that act become an *integral part* of the Presbytery, and could

not withdraw without self-dissolution. A multitude of such things have occurred, and doubtless in the controversy, Congregationalists have said and done some, perhaps many, unadvised things. But they have never assumed jurisdiction over Presbyterian churches, nor done anything resembling these Presbyterian aggressions.

The history of the Union of 1801 proved to the Michigan City Convention, that in its *perversions* it had been a fountain of discord, of evils great and multiplied, beyond farther endurance, and that one of three things must be done, viz.: this controversy must continue and endure, or Congregationalism must be abandoned and handed over to Presbyterianism, or a friendly and entire separation must be pronounced. We unanimously adopted the last alternative. If we had taken the second, the Congregational churches would not have followed our advice, and if they had followed it, the effervescing elements would have still remained in conflict. We believed Congregationalism the fittest church polity for the West, without, however, claiming or desiring to hinder any other denomination from laboring and building churches as they may. Nay, the more others do, the better shall we be pleased, and the Convention with the widest liberality recommended, that Congregationalists should hold themselves ready to coöperate with their brethren of all *other denominations* in everything which should promote the interests of pure religion at the West, upon such terms as the local circumstances might indicate. We have not withdrawn from *real* union with Presbyterians, but have established with them a better basis of union; a practical basis, upon which we may unite in agreement, and not in discord. This is all that was intended by this condemned Convention—all that was done. We made no war on any Christian brother. We called no one a bigot or a sectarian, or a tyrant, or any other hard name. We had no hard feelings, though we had some hard opinions of certain very hard transactions. We knew we had *a right to be Congregationalists*, and intended to maintain that right, and now, God blessing our efforts, as he has, (and I trust will in time to come,) those who condemn us shall see us scattered abroad over the West, going everywhere preaching the word, and we hope that Presbyterians in an equally good spirit will do so too, and build two churches to our one. From whence, then, is controversy to come with all the terrific evils which Doctor Eddy portrays? Not from Congregationalism, for that has not changed its spirit, though it has changed its plan of action. If there is controversy hereafter, it will be from the same source as heretofore. It will be because Presbyterians continue to deny and resist the right of American Christians to be

Congregationalists, and worship according to the dictates of their consciences. This usurpation I hope and believe Congregationalists will no longer endure, but with kind decision will maintain their civil and religious liberty.

I ask Doctor Eddy to ponder this matter, to read his letter again, and see what epithets he has applied to an old friend, and virtually to thousands of his Christian brethren, and inquire if it is not time that such things had an end. I ask him to look at the Congregational churches which have been established here within six years; the Tabernacle, the Pilgrims, the Puritans, the Free Churches, and say whether these are *ultra* Congregational, sectarian, disorganizing, unbrotherly, mischief-making churches. I ask him if he can tell where more perfect kindness and good order is to be found, than here. And yet these churches have been established upon the same sentiments which pervaded the Michigan City Convention. These are all *distinctive* Congregational churches, that is, *real* Congregational churches, and *not* Presbyterian churches. They are, if you please, *ultra* Congregational churches; for nothing is more ultra than the perfect equality of the brotherhood, and the concentration of all necessary power in one church, which are the fundamental principles of all Congregationalism. Principalities and powers are blotted out here, the utmost radicalism can go no farther. And yet, here are liberty and union, order, peace, and energy, such as no system of labored organization can equal. At least, *so* many of us believe and profess, and, so believing, are bound to show our faith by our works.

These circumstances seem to compel what otherwise would look egotistical, the subscription of my name, which is

DAVID HALE.

RELATION OF PASTORS TO THEIR CHURCHES.

[*From the Boston Recorder, March*, 1847.]

MESSRS. EDITORS:—The discussion which has occurred in the Recorder exhibits a confused, if not a superstitious state of mind. The truth is very obvious, however, in simple Congregationalism, as it is in the New Testament. The confusion arises from the adoption of radical errors respecting the ministry. The effort to reconcile those errors with truth, or with other errors, only involves him who attempts it in great difficulty. "I am your master and all ye are *brethren*," explains the whole matter. Every disciple is a preacher, appointed and authorized, nay, commanded

by *Christ*, to preach the gospel as God shall give him opportunity; to preach as Paul did, "from house to house," by the way-side, in the synagogue, the Sabbath-school, the pulpit, wherever a sound and humble discretion and desire to honor not himself, but Christ, shall see the way opened. Even they who are not disciples are bound to preach. He that heareth must say come, and every one must go, repeating what he has heard, whether he has embraced the truth to the saving of his soul or not. The New Testament furnishes no record of "licensing" men to preach, of putting hands on men's heads, or doing anything else as a preliminary to preaching. These things were got up in the dark times of prelacy, and whether expedient or inexpedient now, were not practiced at the beginning of Christianity. No one in those days waited for liberty to preach. No body of men or individual man pretended to impart such liberty. When the church which was at Jerusalem were *all* scattered abroad, *except the apostles, they that were scattered went everywhere preaching the word.* If the gentlemen who have been writing in the Recorder will turn to the eighth chapter of Acts, they will there find the institution of the gospel ministry. This is the "order" which the Holy Ghost has appointed. All the rest is man's devising. It may be expedient now, though it was not then, to license and lay on hands. But Congregationalism holds these things as ceremonies merely, not matters of authority or necessity.

Next, what is the church and church membership? The true church of Christ is a spiritual body. It is within men. It is composed of those who by repentance and faith have united themselves to Christ, and so become parts of his spiritual body. The external associations which are organized by men in various ways, composed more or less, or possibly not at all, of true disciples, are not *the* church for which Christ died, nor to which he has left his promises. If they are, then Rome is the mother of us all, and "succession" is the channel of authority and grace to priest and people. The associations denominated churches of Christ are constructed upon plans of their own devising; it may be more and it may be less in accordance with the will of Christ. It may be in utter opposition to his will. In primitive times the disciples signed no confession, entered into no written obligations of any sort. They merely "joined themselves unto the Lord." Whoever came and consorted together with the disciples was a church member, which is only saying that they who composed the congregation were members of the congregation. If any such person was heretical or immoral, the rest put forth a declaration of the fact, excluding him from the congregation, or at

any rate declaring the assembly or church, and Christianity, no longer responsible for him.

These views may be new, and even astonishing to many New England people, and much more so to people elsewhere. Yet they are just the facts which we have been reading in the New Testament from our infancy, and misunderstanding all our lives, because ceremonies have constantly addressed the opposite doctrine to our senses. I think no man can be in difficulty about the relation of a pastor to his people, with these views, unless the perversion of the word pastor to meaning exclusively the public Sabbath-day preacher in the meeting-house, may still obscure it. He ranks with the preacher in the Sabbath-school, with all the church, who all preach (announce) the gospel, or should do so, in their lives and conversations. He is a *brother*, and comes regularly with the assembling church, to do the service which the church have assigned him as their *most public and formal* preacher. Whether he have "signed the book" or not, the Christian community in which he is are bound to watch over him, to admonish him if necessary; to see that he, no more than any brother, exercises lordship in the church; and if his immoralities demand the painful measure, to declare by their own act, as a church, or through some other medium, that Christianity, or at least this body of its professors, no longer endorses his Christian character. He has not received his authority to preach either from the church or any ecclesiastical body. If he is a hypocrite, he must answer for that to the master whom he has belied; and if he is a true disciple, all the anathemas of hypocritical or mistaken churches or ecclesiastical bodies cannot take away his commission, signed and sealed as it is by the "Captain of Salvation." The "license," as it is called, by the church, or ministers, is nothing but an expression of their *opinion, a letter of recommendation.* It may be very useful and proper to be taken by a man going among strangers, as similar letters are by merchants when they go to a distant market, in which they are unknown. It establishes the credit of the person by the testimony of known and accredited witnesses. The one is not a license to buy goods, nor the other a license to preach. Both are facilities alike in their nature, and simply transfer a man's character with his person. In both cases, if the persons issuing such letters of recommendation find that they were themselves deceived all the time, or that the individual has since become unworthy of trust, it is their duty to revoke the letters of credit with all necessary publicity. To "silence" any man, to say he shall not preach, is not the ecclesiastical right of any man or body of men; and blessed be God, it is not in our land, within the civil power of govern-

ments, in the church or the state. The owners of a meeting house may, to be sure, license or allow a man to preach *in that house.* And so may an ecclesiastical body regulate their own proceedings within the house of their meeting. But this is the limit of their *authority* either of allowance or prohibition. Their *influence* may with propriety extend much farther, but when they attempt to extend their authority farther, they are at once stripped of power. If a company of ministers form themselves into a society to govern one another, and mutually *agree* to be disciplined and silenced by the majority, wicked as the arrangement would be, it would place the members in a voluntary subjection, which might make the path of duty obscure to a good man. But without such an agreement, when the true disciple of Christ is silenced by the decree of any council, he is to disregard it entirely, and preach on the more earnestly. When the high priest and all they that were with him commanded the apostles not to speak in that manner, and shut them up in prison, then the angel of the Lord opened the prison-doors, and brought them out, and said, "*Go stand in the temple, and speak* (*preach*) *to the people all the words of this life.*" When they were arraigned again before the council, and the chief priest inquired sternly, "did not *we* straightway command *you?*" the short but conclusive answer of Peter and all of them was, "We ought to obey *God,* rather than *man.*" The same principles which prompted that noble answer then, and which we now so much approve, will sustain the same answer under similar circumstances to the end of the world. Where then is the mystery or the difficulty in understanding the relation of a minister to the people?

QUO.

ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, November* 5, 1847.]

NOTHING surprises a candid layman more than the party and bad legislation of ecclesiastical bodies. It is a great fault of all legislators, and of public sentiment also, to desire that everything should be regulated by statute law. When an evil has been cured by discussion, and the reformation in public opinion brought into a controlling position, then it is that a law must be made, and the living power be laid in the grave of a dead letter. But nowhere is the true prelacy of leading influence so much discarded as in ecclesiastical circles. Nowhere is influence so controlling, and nowhere is it so thrown away. Ministers,

who might have everything their own way upon the respect which is felt for them personally, seem fond of throwing away this great power of usefulness, and carrying what they deem expedient by the pains and penalties of law. Nor are they often scrupulous to inquire whether they have any constitutional possession of the power which they thus attempt to wield. If a thing is thought desirable, it is to be enacted. "God's constitution of necessity" might be the proper rule for Oliver Cromwell, when under that rule alone could the liberties of England, or the lives of a majority of her people, be saved from the butchery of Romish persecutors. But now times are changed, and there is no excuse in these days for usurping authority which was never delegated. We have scarcely seen an act which more strongly illustrates this unwise disposition, than one which we find in the proceedings of the New York Presbytery, who, according to the reports in the religious papers, amended their rules respecting churches, by enacting "that no vacant church shall hereafter employ any minister or licentiate (not belonging to this presbytery) for more than two Sabbaths, nor take any steps preparatory to the calling of such minister or licentiate, to be their pastor, without applying to the presbytery if in session, or if in the intervals of presbytery, to the standing committee of supplies."

Such enactment, it seems to us, reflects illiberally upon the pastors themselves. If they have done their duty as pastors in their own churches, and in the churches around, are not the people sounder in doctrine, and in all knowledge, than this rule implies? And have the opinions of the pastors collectively so little influence, that they can only control the people by law, and such a law as this? But the churches connected with this Old School Presbytery are among the most intelligent of the city, and the pastors among the most respected, influential, and we may add liberal, too. What would the pastors think, if the people should decree that none of them should interchange with the denomination which we suppose this rule is especially intended to affect? But the Presbytery have no power to make such a law. It is an outright usurpation, which we are sure was not intended; and it is only because of the great love and respect which the people feel for their pastors, that they bear such legislation. What could more fully prove that it is unnecessary and unwise? Such things in religious affairs are bad in their influence. They confuse men's ideas about their rights, and prepare them to submit to usurpations in politics, and in other religious denominations. Our political liberty grew out of religious liberty, and rests upon it. The great Puritan doc-

trines of the individual rights and responsibilities of men hold up the fabric of our political liberty. We have all, therefore, the deepest stake in the maintenance of those doctrines in all our religious organizations.

ORDINARY MEANS OF GRACE.

[*From the Boston Recorder, December* 7, 1847.]

I SEE this awkward phrase used very often, and apparently without any very exact idea, or at least without any fitness of the phrase to the idea. Ordinary often means inferior, of poor quality, but that I suppose is not intended. What is an ordinary means of grace? Is it a settled pastor, or is it two meetings on the Sabbath, and as many sermons, and perhaps a lecture and a prayer-meeting during the week? These are often very good, and often very ordinary, in every sense of the word. What are extraordinary means of grace? Does a minister, who in his own parish is an ordinary means of grace, become an extraordinary means by going to another parish; or is a minister who has no parish an extraordinary means always? Do those men who use this phrase mean the means which God ordinarily uses or which men ordinarily use? The object seems to be to praise ordinary means, to the disparagement of extraordinary means. If the intention is to say that there is nothing more to be done for bringing about or carrying on a revival of religion than what is ordinarily done when there is no revival, and no wish for one, then it is a most pernicious error. If the indistinct impression which originates the phrase is, that God has two classes of preachers, ordinary and extraordinary, that also must be an error. If they who use the phrase intend to use it to disparage those preachers whose efforts God has blessed with extraordinary effect, and made the means of gathering extraordinary numbers into the kingdom of Christ, then the intention is a plain contradiction of the well-known facts of God's providence. If finally the design is to get up a sentiment which shall forbid the churches from employing at any time other men to *use* the means of grace than their own pastors, then it is a plan of hierarchy of a very dangerous character. It is not every man who is a good pastor who is best qualified for reaching the consciences of men, and rousing them to seek salvation earnestly. Paul has tried to make us understand that we are all endowed with *some* gifts, but none of us with *all* gifts. Every one is a head, foot, or hand, but no one is the whole body. The history of great revivals proves, that the ordinary means

of grace for them are one, or at most a few men, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, going like Paul and Peter from house to house and place to place. The life of Mr. Nettleton is a full illustration of this; and are we to have a system deliberately built up by which such men shall be excluded from the pulpits by the dictation of the pastors, however much the churches may desire to bring them in as colaborers? If the men who use this phrase mean any distinct thing by it, I wish they would tell us distinctly what they mean, and what they intend to bring about by this new phrase. QUERIST.

THE STATE, THE CHURCH, AND THE FAMILY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 17, 1848.]

THESE institutions are much dwelt on, and by clergymen often represented as three institutions of Jehovah for the benefit of man. Rev. Mr. Kirk, of Boston, repeated to a crowded audience in the Tabernacle his sermon before the American Home Missionary Society, in which he took the same view of the matter. The Church, he said, was composed of *organized* bodies of professed Christians. This was the great conservative power in the world,—an *organized* Church. This was the salt of the earth mentioned in the text. But to a very great extent Mr. Kirk treated religion as an individual obligation. He spoke of Sabbath-schools, colporteurs, the distribution of Bibles, tracts, &c., as mighty means in saving the world; yet insisted that an organized *Church* was the power. He said God had instituted no particular *mode* of organization; and he rejected the papacy from being a department of the Church of Christ, though it has more *organization* than any other body of professed Christians. In these days it would not be amiss to say that God has appointed no particular *form* of organization for the State. We have been expecting that the preachers of at least the Congregational denomination would come to a different mode of treating these topics before long, and conclude that the Church of Christ is not created by organization, but exists in every true disciple of his, wherever he may be, however organized or unorganized, and that they would then see that *truth* is the great conservative power in the world, and organizations good or bad, just as they help or hinder its promulgation. As to both Church and State, this idea of organism has confounded and bewildered most men. It is difficult to see how simple organization could be prescribed, without some particular form being prescribed. What is organization? What is it, when you have it in its best

estate, but a mere facility, by which men act together? By it, many times, bad or heartless men are able to embarrass the earnest and benevolent, so as to stultify their efforts. Such organizations cannot be a great power for usefulness. The State, and the people in it, may go to ruin, in spite of all the church organizations, where the people merely sit down in earnest about nothing but their own enjoyment.

THE CHURCH—WE'VE FOUND IT.

[*From an unpublished Manuscript.*]

We commenced a search for the true Church of our Lord Jesus Christ some time ago, and we presented the result in an article headed, "The Church, where is it?" We stated then the result of our investigation into the two principal grounds upon which sundry organizations claim to be acknowledged as the Church. They are unity, and apostolic succession; and we found a total want of evidence that either of these things actually exists in any of them. Unity certainly does not, as every body knows; and as to apostolic succession, we came directly to the conclusion that no priest on earth could make out not only that absolute certainty upon which the whole matter depends, but any tolerable probability that the chain of descent has been maintained unbroken from the apostles to himself. Utterly defeated, therefore, in our search after the Church upon such principles, and still believing that there is a church somewhere, we determined to pursue the inquiry, and the head of this article announces with what happy success. We have found the Church of Christ, "which he has purchased with his own blood," the church out of which there is no salvation, and within which there is no condemnation. It is the Holy Catholic Church.

The quotation which we have made above indicates the course of our search. We turned to the declarations of the great Founder of the Church, and of those persons who were its first members. Here was an exceedingly interesting field of investigation, and we are happy to say, as satisfactory and rational as it was interesting. We noticed at once that the word translated church, means congregation or company or assembly, and is so uniformly translated in the Old Testament, and frequently in the New. Feeling that there could be no better place to find out what we wished to know than the scene of the last conversation of Christ with his disciples, before his passion, and on which He

instituted the sacrament of the Supper, we went there and listened to His instructions upon that most deeply interesting and painful occasion; when, "having loved His own which were in the world, He loved them unto the end." Supper being ended, He rose, girded himself with a towel, poured water into a basin and washed the feet of each one of the disciples, and said: "If I your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash ONE ANOTHER'S feet." He then with deep grief declared, "one of you shall betray me." Soon after, Judas went out. The Savior continued the conversation, and said: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, *if ye have love one for another.*"—"I go to prepare a place for you."—"If ye love me, *keep my commandments.*"—"Peace I leave with you."—"Ye are clean through *the word which I have spoken unto you.*"—"Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit."—"If ye *keep my commandments,* ye shall abide in my love."—"If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but because I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you."—"Remember the word that I said unto you, the servant is not greater than his Lord."—"They shall put you *out of the synagogues,* yea, the time cometh that whosoever killeth you shall think that he doeth God service." Afterward Jesus lifted up his eyes to heaven and prayed. In this prayer he said: "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."—"They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world."—"Sanctify them through thy truth, *thy word is truth.* Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also who shall believe in me through their word; that *we all may be one,* as thou Father art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in *us.*" Before Pilate: "Jesus answered, my kingdom is not of this world, else would my servants fight. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice." The Apostle John in closing this narrative, says: "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that *believing* ye might have life through *His name.*" John had good reason for writing with this great and single design, for on looking back in the book he had been writing, we find that he had heard his Master say: "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him."—"As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have eternal life; for God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlast-

ing life."—"If any man thirst let him come unto *me* and drink."—"He that cometh to *me* shall never hunger, and he that believeth on *me* shall never thirst."—"Him that cometh to *me* I will in nowise cast out."—"He that heareth my word and believeth on Him that sent me hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but *is* passed from death unto life."—"I am the resurrection and the life, he that believeth on me, though he were dead yet shall he live; whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die." These declarations and many more like them John had recorded. They were the reiteration of the same truth which seemed to be the central point of all the teachings which he had heard in the intervals of the mighty acts of Jesus Christ, by which he had proved that life and death were entirely at His disposal. We looked through the other gospels written by Matthew, Mark and Luke, and found them full of this same truth; and when we turned to the comments of the apostles in their letters, written under the guidance of inspiration, we found them full of the same thing. Faith in Christ,—faith in Christ,—faith in Christ, is the first and last, and sum total everywhere. They say it "worketh by love and purifies the heart;" that it is "the fruit of the Spirit;" that it constitutes those who possess it into a family; that it would operate in the same manner in all who possessed it, until they should "all come in the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."

THE TRUE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

[*From an unpublished Manuscript.*]

In the month of August, 1845, I was relaxing from severe occupation, by a tour in Connecticut, and called on Saturday to spend the Sabbath with my relative, the pastor of the church in Hampton. In the course of conversation, I learned that an Episcopal minister, from a neighboring town, had delivered several lectures in Hampton, setting forth the dogmas of high churchism, and was to preach again after the regular service on the next Sabbath P.M. I suggested that I might deliver a lecture on the same topic in the evening, and it was announced accordingly. I listened with interest to the discourse of the Episcopal divine, and he was so courteous as to attend my lecture in the evening, we having been politely introduced to each other by a mutual and honored friend. My lecture was substantially as follows:

LECTURE ON THE TRUE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

BRETHREN AND FRIENDS—In the course of a tour of relaxation I had the pleasure of calling on your pastor yesterday. He invited me to lecture on temperance this evening, but learning in conversation, that the question of what is the True Church of Christ had been brought before you by a clergyman from a neighboring town, I preferred as my custom is in my ordinary business, to discuss that topic which is for the time exciting special interest. You may think it strange that an editor should enter upon such a discussion. It is true that I am neither a theologian, a polemic, nor a scholastic. I seek rather to be imbued with that which so characterizes and distinguishes the people of my native State—common sense. This, enlightened by the Bible, is generally the best guide to truth on all such matters, as I propose to discuss before you. I desire to say also, that I am not only a plain but a blunt man. My occupation leads me to deal with rougher materials often, than compose this audience, and I fear that my habits of thinking, which I cannot throw off for an hour, may make me seem severe and unkind, when I really am not so at all. In addressing you my object is not to sustain any particular sect, but to find out what is truth. If the Church of Rome, or England, is really what she claims to be, let us all join her, for it can do none of us any good to believe or practice falsehood. Let us find the true Church of Christ and unite ourselves to it, for there is such a church, and out of its pale there is no salvation. It is therefore with deep seriousness that I address you to-night, for upon the right understanding of this great subject our eternal salvation depends. Allow me then to state some of the distinguishing characteristics of the Church of Christ. That it is distinguished from all other associations, is plain from the nature of the case, and from the declarations of Scripture, which everywhere characterizes the Church as a separate and "peculiar people."

One of the peculiarities of the religion of Christ is, that it deals with, and lays its claims upon the *spirit* of man, his intellect, and affections. It does not say, as all religions before it had said, Pay great sums of money or endure great suffering to procure the favor of the gods. It does not command, Make a pilgrimage to Mecca or Jerusalem; swing so many times around the pole, fastened by hooks through your back; hold up your arms until they become fixed and petrified, so as never to be taken down; nor cast yourself under the wheels of an idol's car: but "give me thy *heart*;" "*believe* and thou shalt be saved;" "the kingdom of God is *within* you." The Apostle Paul addressed a letter thus: "Unto

the Church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints;" and "if any man have not the *spirit* of Christ he is none of his." Membership in this church is obtained therefore not upon external performances, but upon the possession of a certain state of the mind, from which to be sure all good conduct will proceed.

Another peculiarity of the religion of Christ is, that it addresses itself to men, not as communities, but as *individuals*. Its commands, its promises, its threatenings, and its hopes, are addressed to each individual man, woman, and child, and each one is required for *himself* to comply with its requisitions, being held as fully able to do so, and therefore responsible for himself, and between himself and God alone. It addresses itself to every man by himself, whatever his circumstances may be, whether he be poor or rich, ignorant or learned, alone in the desert, or among the bustling multitudes of a city. It suits his condition, whatever it be, and follows him wherever he goes, as distinctly as if there were no other creature on the earth besides himself. "Repent, believe, thou art the man," are ever sounded in his ears. This recognition of man, as an individual always, and this perfect fitness for his case as an individual, whatever it may be, is a very great peculiarity of the religion of Christ. Another peculiarity of this religion is, that it refuses all *merit* to our services. Whatever we may do, we can merit no blessing. Salvation is a free gift, bestowed through the merits of Jesus Christ upon such as exercise the prescribed affections toward him. Another and most important peculiarity of the religion of Christ is, that it demands *purity* of heart. Other religions have had their foundation and their strength in their agreement with the depraved and impure lusts of men. But Christ says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," and this purity is of no ordinary character, for in illustration of it he says, "He that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery already," and "He that hateth is a murderer." "Nothing that defileth or worketh abomination, or maketh a lie," shall in anywise enter the true Church of Christ. "*Without* are dogs and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whatsoever loveth or maketh a lie."

This purity is especially peculiar, as it is everywhere represented as not existing in the common or natural state of human affections, but as acquired and received at the time of joining the Church, being the associate of faith. Very strong language is used on this point. The transition is even termed by Christ being "born again." It is described as being "born of the Spirit," as being made "new creatures in Christ Jesus," as becoming

"dead to the world and alive unto righteousness," and it is said of the persons who have this especial state of mind, that they exercise a "faith which works by love, and purifies the heart;" it is even said of them that they "dwell in God and God in them."

Another most remarkable characteristic of the true Church is, that its bond of union is *benevolence.* Other associations (except where the affections of this church are present) are chiefly bound together by selfishness. Some common object of personal glory, emolument, or pleasure, is the principle of cohesion. But love for the Master, and love for one another, is the bond of union in the Church of Christ. It is the same feeling which drew Christ from heaven, and is one of the important features in which the disciples are one with Him.

I will mention but one other peculiarity of the religion of Christ, and that is, that it depends solely on its *principles* for its success. It is a *matter* of principle. Other religions have been promulgated by war, by proscription, by great combinations, and chicanery. But if a whole nation were compelled by physical force to call themselves Christian, the Church of Christ would not thereby be enlarged in the least degree. Pen and ink, the voice of love, putting forth argument and persuasion, and entreaty:—this is "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God" and this only, from the nature of the case, can extend the Church of Christ. Truth, as it is preached by "them that believe," reaches the understanding, the conscience, and the heart of man after man, and by the blessing of its Author upon it, makes him a "new creature in Christ," uniting him to Christ as a branch is united to the vine, and adding him to that Church which is so identified with Christ in character and purpose, that He prayed thus most remarkably for them to the Father, "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." The persons for whom this remarkable prayer was offered were in the same breath designated as "them which shall *believe on me.*"

Behold, then, the true Church of Christ. It is spiritual, it is individual, reaching to all possible conditions; it disclaims all merit in its members; it is composed of pure or holy persons only, who have acquired this purity by a great moral renovation; it is bound together by benevolence, and it is extended by the affectionate announcement of the truth alone.

From this statement of facts it is evident that the true Church of Christ cannot be perpetuated by the succession of a society. Associations of men extend to their bodily presence, but not to their hearts. A principle, a state of affections, cannot possibly be transmitted by external associations or ceremonies. Suppose the

society of the Cincinnati had included every patriot of the revolution, and being so founded, had attempted to perpetuate the patriotism of American citizens, in regular succession from the revolution, by the admission of members to that society. I care not what ceremonies might have been adopted at the admission, how painful or pompous soever they might have been, it would be idle to tell a New England audience that a man was exclusively a patriot, or at all the more a patriot, for having gone through with them. If you were to take such an one in the act of giving "aid and comfort" to the enemies of your country, he might protest that he was a patriot by succession, and show his certificate of admission to the patriot church, but it would not save him from the gallows for one moment. 'What has belonging to a society to do with your being a good citizen! A patriot by succession forsooth!' would be the contemptuous reply which such claims would receive through all the ranks of intelligent New England. 'Cheap patriotism this, to be sure. Our fathers had a different sort. They got it from God, and it lived in their own burning bosoms, not in the record-books of a society.' If you were to take a thief, and pour all the waters of the Quinnebaug upon him; if you were to exhaust the fuller's whole stock of soap upon him; if you were to perform never so many manipulations upon him; nay should rivers of oil be poured on his head, would his thievish *heart* be purified by all this? If there were *external* impurity upon him, it would have been washed away, but no approach would have been made to his mind. If you were to admit him to the church of any denomination, alas, what a melancholy cloud of witnesses there are, that even this would not remove his pollution from him, or make his heart at all better than it was before!

It is farther evident that admission to an external association, whatever it may be, cannot be admission to the true Church of Christ. Suppose you admit an impure man to the church with never so much ceremony. Suppose you make him a deacon, an elder, a bishop, nay a pope, and repeat your ceremonies with increasing solemnity at every stage, and with full certificates of all this, he approaches that great gate of pearl over which it is written, "Nothing that defileth or maketh a lie can enter." What will it all avail? Your certificates would not begin to reach the emergency. They would be but so much waste paper. They cannot force a bad man into heaven, nor afford him the least assistance. What have such things to do with admission to that world of truth and holiness?

Again: it is evident that there are no ranks, no orders in the true Church of Christ. The highest possible honor and dignity

are conferred on each one upon his admission. He is made a brother of Christ, a child of God, an heir of glory immortal. He is pronounced a king and a priest, and has the promise of being made like Christ, and finally to see as he is seen, and know as he is known. What orders can there be above this "chosen generation, this royal priesthood, this holy nation?" We have not only plain reason but the express declaration of Christ, who said explicitly in reference to this very point, "I am your Master and all ye are brethren." The controversy therefore between Episcopalians and Presbyterians about three orders, or two orders, and with some Congregationalists about one order, is all a controversy about nothing.

We see in this, too, that no portion of the members of this church can confer prerogatives upon any other portion. Every one is authorized in the highest possible degree; and what he shall do depends not on the license or ordination of his brethren, but upon the commands of the Great Master as indicated in his word and providence, and judged of by each disciple for himself. It is obvious farther, that it is not altogether safe to trust ourselves to any external association of men merely because they claim to be exclusively the true Church of Christ. There is danger possibly, in these claims, of setting up an *opposition* to the true Church. There is no foundation for the Church but Jesus Christ, and if men attempt to lay the foundation of tradition or succession, they do plainly reject Christ. He, as master, admits every member to his church upon the possession of the required state of affections. Woe to that church and its active agents, then, who shall assume to do this in his name and to admit members to his church, and that, too, without the character which he requires! Claims are not possessions any more here than elsewhere; and it is possible, by joining those who make the highest claims, by that very act to reject Christ and his true Church. If we fail to unite with the true Church and to come in "through the door," our joining all other churches will be in vain and may be much worse than in vain. If, therefore, any association of men proclaim itself *the* Church of Christ exclusively, its claim is obviously false, and gives much reason to suspect that it has no part nor lot in the matter; but is a rival and opposition church—an anti-christ, though it may include some true, but in this matter deluded disciples. Finally, there is no such thing as "uncovenanted mercy." There are some persons who, while they claim that their church possesses the monopoly of covenant mercy, do yet in their benevolence hope that some others may be saved by uncovenanted mercy. They seem to have an idea of shreds and surplus pieces in God's mercy. But there can be no such thing.

All who are received into the true Church are received upon the same plan and in the same way and by the same Great Administrator. They are received upon their compliance with the *terms* which are proposed—with the *covenant* which God has sealed in the blood of his Son. If there was other mercy, why was not the covenant enlarged to include it? No, the invitation of the Author of salvation is, "Come unto *me*, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out." All who accept these proposals are in covenant with Christ; they who refuse will find no mercy out of the covenant. Uncovenanted mercy is eternal death. How wonderful is the delusion which talks of *uncovenanted* mercy, which dreams that penitent believers in Jesus Christ are out of covenant with Him because out of covenant with them; and that impenitent men may reject Christ and still "climb up" through their church into heaven.

Now I am sure I shall be pardoned—nay, that courtesy demands that I should take some notice of the propositions which were submitted to you this afternoon; though I fear, from the character of those propositions, that I shall seem to be severe upon the gentleman who has put them forth. But I have no feeling of severity. He will doubtless allow me to practice the frankness which he so properly eulogized at the opening of this discourse. He urged that in all matters, and especially in those of religion, we desire *stability*. Certainly he was right. But it can hardly be fair to put forth a general proposition of this sort, and then claim to one side its whole popularity. All men who think with the gentleman about the desirableness of stability, are not therefore to adopt everything else which he said and join his church. But he attempted to carry you with him on this point by a reference to the instability of New England religion. He charged it in no scrupulous terms as being "one thing to-day and another to-morrow"—ever changing and uncertain and so divided by warring opinions that no stability is to be found anywhere. I thought he must be a man of courage who could pronounce such allegations against the opinions of New England in the midst of a New England audience. The religion of New England unstable and divided! Why, it has been her reproach that from the beginning to this day, she holds the same blue, puritanic doctrines. Here Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, and Evangelical Episcopalians, all agree in the great fundamental doctrines of the true Church of Christ. They differ about the quantity of water to be used in baptism, and some other points of similar, and some of still greater importance. But upon the great truths of the Church there is not a thinking community

upon the face of earth so united and so unchangeable as the New Englanders, which the gentleman thinks he beholds in such a sea of troubles. Beautiful, ever-faithful New England, how art thou misunderstood and misrepresented! Thy peace flows perennial like thy lovely rivers. The agreement of New England, too, is something very different from the creed of O'Connell—"I believe all that the Church believes." It is the agreement of men who, having thought each one for himself, find afterward that they all think alike. This is a *living* faith. To believe as the Church believes is to have no faith, according to any New England sense. Make a proposition to a Yankee, and tell him the Church believes it, and therefore he must, and he will be sure to reply, "Well, stranger, I can't believe that way, but *prove* it, and then I guess I can believe it." Yet to such a faith in "the Church" did the preacher, this afternoon, all along intimate, (for he did not exactly say it), New England must go for deliverance from uncertainty. Go to the Episcopal Church for stability and agreement! Why, in that church are pent up all possible shades of theological doctrine which are to be found on earth, from thorough Calvinism to the extremest point of Unitarianism. An hundred sects war in her bosom, making up at this moment the most violent theological controversy which is to be found in all Christendom. To the Episcopal Church! which (allow me to say the exact truth) agrees about nothing, except about *an old book and some old clothes*, or rather an old fashion for clothes. Even this worthless unity the Church cannot maintain, for in the diocese of Exeter, in England, there is a rent about the clothes, and as to the book, there is no more real agreement about its meaning than about the meaning of the Bible which the book was given to make plain. He must be a man of strange views who can, just at this time, propose that New England should turn to Episcopacy for repose.

The great burden of the gentleman's discourse was the want of an *authoritative interpreter* of the religion of Christ, something which should make us *certain* what were the truths and the institutions of Christ and his apostles. I agree most fully that we should follow these great leaders. As to the *institutions* of the apostles, they were clearly Congregationalism. The form of the primitive churches was the same with the form of the New England churches, except that there was in them considerably less of form, and circumstance, and hierarchical arrangement, than even in your simple churches. I can bring you Episcopal authority for this, and if any man, woman or child, whose mind is not perverted, will find any such thing as a diocesan bishop in the Acts of the Apostles, I will incur any such forfeit as is com-

mon in New England. Certain it is, that in those days everything was done by the democratic mass of the brotherhood. When an apostle was to be ordained to fill the vacancy created by the apostasy of Judas, the brethren did it all; and when the great apostle was to be sent to the Gentiles, he was first sent to a lay disciple in Damascus, who, in performing the miracle of opening his eyes, laid hands on him, then baptized him, and straightway he went forth a finished preacher, not seeing any one of the apostles, according to his own statement, until three years afterward. In those days all were preachers, all administrators of sacraments, breaking bread from house to house. There is no record in the New Testament of any such thing as laying hands on a disciple, to authorize or qualify him for these duties. The primitive churches, the apostles included, were democratic assemblies of equal brethren, differing only in gifts and graces, and so prepared not for different orders but for different services.

The necessity of an authoritative standard of apostolic faith and practice, beyond what is now generally possessed in New England, the gentleman urged, until he declared that "any opinion not maintained from the apostles down to the present time may be rejected." I give his own words, for it was so strange a proposition that I took care to write it down at the moment. "Any opinion not maintained from the apostles down to the present time may be rejected!" Of course the Bible is no rule of faith, anything which is *there* may be rejected. The Bible ceases to be authority. Could the gentleman have been aware that while standing up as a Christian, he was preaching thoroughgoing deism? No principle of Thomas Paine ever struck out the Bible more effectually. More than that, it strikes out *all* truth, for there *is nothing, no one* fundamental or important doctrine of the Church of Christ, which has been so held. The historic fact of the mission and death of Christ may have been believed all the way down, but not one of all the doctrines taught by him or his apostles. So earnest was the gentleman for authority, that he smote out at a blow all authority. Think of it. Nothing is to be believed, but *nothing!* Such is the end of philosophy turning away from the word of God to look for authority.

To illustrate the necessity of an authoritative interpreter, the gentleman said, "no man can interpret for his neighbor, and therefore not for himself." Then, how are we to obtain this so much desired interpreter? Why, by getting a great many together. A great many non-interpreters make an interpreter, just as a great many ciphers make a thousand. That seemed to be the arithmetic of this philosophy, but it is not according to

the arithmetic of New England. In New England, any quantity of nothings make only nothing.

But what *is* this interpreter which is called authoritative, and upon which alone we are to rely? It is the historic succession of the church, or rather of the priesthood, for the whole authority is in them. During twelve centuries of the eighteen since Christ, the succession has been wrapped in the Church of Rome, that black cloud of locusts which for centuries shut out all light, and shut the world in to a condition of ignorance called appropriately "the dark ages." During centuries of this darkness, the priesthood, with a few exceptions, was an order superior only in its abominable wickedness. It was filled up with adulterers, robbers, and murderers, the most odious who have ever disgraced and trodden down humanity; haters of all purity and of all truth, such as is found in the Bible. These monsters constituting the hierarchy, in general had no Bible, and could not have read it if they had possessed it; yet to this congregation of earth's consummate ignorance and wickedness, to "the mystery of iniquity drunk with the blood of the saints," the intelligent and virtuous population of New England are to be turned over to learn what they are to believe of the pure and holy gospel of God our Savior. Again, I say, he is a man of unusual courage who dares to submit such propositions to a New England audience. It would be much more rational to say that the convicts of your State-prison are the only authoritative interpreters of Connecticut law, and that any opinion may be rejected which they have not always held. I care not how many hands, reeking with pollution and blood, every one of these Romish priests might have had upon his head; it made the succession of hell nothing better. The true Church of Christ, and the pure doctrines of Christ, were always their abhorrence; themselves abhorred of God and all good beings.

But I cannot perceive the necessity which was so eloquently urged upon us. What need have we of an authoritative *interpreter?* We have *the very words* of Christ, and his apostles. *They speak to us* as directly as to the people who heard them eighteen hundred years ago. We have *heard* them ourselves. What need have we of an interpreter? Suppose a council should be called to interpret what I say to-night, and that council should tender the result of their labors to you. You would certainly say, "We have no need of your interpretation. We heard Mr. Hale ourselves; we know what he said; we understood what he meant, your help can do us no good." Unless an interpreter can express himself in clearer language than God, unless he understands the construction of the human mind better

than the Being who constructed it, unless, in short, he is God's superior, his services are not wanted. We have heard God speaking to us, and, blessed be His name, He has spoken in a clear and distinct manner, and we understand Him. He said, "Come unto me, all ye ends of the earth and be ye saved, for I am God, and there is none else," and we understood Him. He said, "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life," and we understood the blessed announcement. He said, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord doth pity them that fear Him," and we understood it and were strengthened. He said, "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask it (of the Church? no) of God, who giveth liberally and upbraideth not," and we understood it and learned where to go when in doubt. He said, "The meek will he guide in judgment, the meek will he teach his way," and "if any man will do his will he shall know of the doctrine," and we understood it and learned where to go for an authoritative interpreter. The interpretations of councils and authoritative books, why, they do but mystify and confuse the clear Word of God. Every council requires, at least, two other councils to interpret its *interpretings*. The whole thing is groundless and preposterous. They who adopt any other rule of faith than the Bible, and any other authoritative interpreter than every man's own understanding, guided by the Holy Ghost, do but reject God for His want of authority, and bring in men to make up the deficiency.

There are many more truths which follow from this view of the true Church of Christ, which there was neither time nor propriety in discussing upon the occasion at Hampton, but which are nevertheless of the highest importance. It follows that the churches of all denominations are mere voluntary associations, having in their associated capacity no covenant with Christ, or commission to exercise authority in his name. So far as such associations are composed of true disciples, they are visibilities of the true Church, but hypocrites by uniting with these associations do not become members of the true Church in any sense. Such associations, when simple in their organization, are favorable to the piety of the members and to the extension of the true Church, and so approved of Christ. But his *covenant* is with *individuals, not with masses*, and if these take the hierarchical form, and assume to lord it over God's heritage, they are a curse to the true Church and an abhorrence to God. Church associations may manage their own affairs according to their own plan, provided that plan does not contravene God's claims; but

let them not assume to do it by divine right, or in the name of the Lord, for they have no such charter. They are none of them, nor all of them together, *the* Church of Christ or a branch of it. Too often these associations have many in them who are not members of the Church of Christ at all, and to whom He will say at the last day, "I never knew you, depart from me, ye workers of iniquity." Nay, it is much to be feared that many such associations have not one member of the real Church in their whole number, and if one should by the grace of God become so, he would thereby become, perhaps, the object of the concentrated hatred of his brethren. What monstrous arrogance is it, then, for presbyteries, synods, conventions, or councils, to assume, as they generally do, that they sit "as courts of Jesus Christ!" What ignorance of the whole matter do these reverend bodies exhibit, to whatever denominations they belong, and with what disapprobation must the Head of the Church and its only Lord look down upon such assumptions of His prerogatives by the worms of earth! How can such men condemn the Pope for pretending to be the vicegerent of God when they take precisely the same attitude themselves! When men have dared this wickedness, what abominable violations of the laws of the Church have they not gone on to commit, in fearless disregard of that dreadful anathema, "He that offendeth one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he drowned in the depths of the sea." If men are bent on persecuting the members of Christ's Church, let them beware how they add the heinous aggravation of doing it in the name of Christ.

Farther, we may learn what church organizations are lawful, and how far a member of the Church of Christ may commit himself to the control of others. It must *not* be to an extent which will embarrass him in his obligations to act individually in the performance of any duty to which the Head of the Church may call him. His obligations to Christ are paramount to all others. He must keep the right to comply with the great evangelical command to proclaim the gospel everywhere, to perform all other duties according to the dictates of his own conscience, always careful not to disturb or interrupt his brethren in the exercise of the same liberty. All governments and all subscriptions which assume more than this, are in violation of the fundamental law, "Call no man master on earth," and so null and void.

We see that the powers of church officers are derived from the church, and extend as far as power is *conferred by the association*, and no farther, provided always, as above stated, that the obligations of the individual members, to Christ, are not infringed.

The authority of church officers can never be an authority over and above the society itself. I use the words, church, association, society, and congregation, as all of the same import. The New Testament uses the names of service, rather than authority, in designating the officers of the primitive churches. Minister and deacon both imply service only, and bishop nothing more than the proper business of a committee man to "oversee" affairs. One appointed to service acquires certain rights from that appointment. He acquires the right to *do what he is appointed to do.* If a society elect a preacher, they confer on him the right to preach, and obligate themselves to sustain him in his appointment. It would be a violation of his rights, or his authority, if you please, for any other member of the church to take possession of the pulpit and exclude him. The same rule applies to the chorister, the organist, the deacons, the sexton even. Their services may be different in importance and in honor, but the authority for them all is received from the same source, and sustained on the same principles, and with regard to them all the arrangement should be entirely voluntary with both parties, as to its commencement and its continuance, unless it is thought expedient to appoint for a specific time. In that case, a removal cannot with propriety be made, except on proof of distinct malpractice in office, or failure of service.

Again, we may understand sacraments more clearly by seeing distinctly what is the nature of the voluntary associations called churches. There is no mysterious efficacy about them, drawn from divine right or prerogative in the administrator or in the body within which they are administered. They are illustrations of truth, but not truth itself, and in no sense themselves *the fact* which they are intended to commemorate or set forth. All saving efficacy is in Christ, through the Spirit. The benefit of sacraments is individual, and depends on the state of mind of each one for himself, so that around the same table there may be some who eat of the same supper to their spiritual growth and progress in salvation, while others eat to the increase of their sin and condemnation. The efficacy is all of faith; not faith in the sacrament, or the church, or the minister, but in Christ alone. If Christ is remembered by the aid of the supper, so as to be more loved and more confided in than before, then is the sacrament effectual toward salvation, and whether received from an ordained minister in the midst of an organized church, or from any other brother in an occasional meeting of Christians, or by himself alone, the blessing may be expected equally, if only sought aright. It was upon this plan of *illustrating* and *enforcing* truth, that pictures were introduced. But man, who loves darkness,

soc.i stopped in his thoughts at the picture, and worshiping that, lost all truth and became an idolater. Not less idolatrous are the superstitious notions which many Protestants, even among Congregationalists, entertain respecting the sacraments of the supper and baptism. To look to them, as possessing in themselves some mysterious efficacy, is as much idolatry as to look to a picture or a graven image in the same way.

We see the phrase "visible church" generally conveys a false impression, as the true Church of Christ consists of individuals alone, so that Church can only be visible in the persons of the same individuals. The true visible Church is composed of saints, and they are visible whenever they go about in the footsteps of their Master, doing good. We see that true discipleship, and that alone, entitles a man to *profess* to be a disciple, and especially by partaking of the supper, and that it is not doing what is commonly termed "joining the church," which confers it, though order in ascertaining true discipleship—provided it is not made too much of—is proper. I may say here, that the Baptists who exclude from communion those who have not been immersed, reject the true doctrine of the Church; and their opponents, who can see this wrong, and who still make sprinkling and joining the church essential prerequisites to communion, are guilty of the very thing which they condemn. Neither of these is essential to salvation, and so cannot lawfully be made essential to communion.

We see that popes, cardinals, bishops, presbyters, ministers, and all, by whatever name they may be called, whose especial calling it is to do service in the Church, are officers in a voluntary association, and, after all, *nothing but men.* There is nothing mysterious about any of them. They possess no special powers from Christ which they can confer on others; nay, no special powers which have not been conferred by the associations among whom they labor. They have no right to monopolize the preaching of the gospel, or the administration of its ordinances, and have no more or better right to do these things than any body else, except the right which exists in the *propriety* of each particular case, and the appointment of the people. The local settled pastors of the churches of our day are not only of no "divine institution," but they are not after any pattern recorded in the New Testament as belonging to the primitive church. The arrangement, however, seems admirably adapted to our times, right and proper, provided it does not attempt to monopolize service, but leaves every disciple pressed with the duty of preaching the gospel by the way-side, in the house, the conference meeting, and even the pulpit, if Providence points to that as his duty.

We may learn farther that the phrase "sacred desk," growing out of the idea of being used by sacred men; the common notion among Protestants, that a meeting-house is changed in its character, and made holy by consecration, or that any material thing can possess spiritual efficacy, is superstition and idolatry. If God has made no promises to associations of men, He has made none to the houses they build. The common notion that God is more present in a meeting-house than elsewhere, and that prayers and praises offered there are more efficacious than elsewhere, is in contradiction to the whole teaching of the New Testament. God directed the building of a temple for the use of a national church, and made himself visibly present there, but the time has come when Gerizim and Jerusalem, and all places, are to be forgotten in the grand idea that God is a Spirit, and must be worshiped in spirit and in truth. Protestants pity Catholics for thinking that mass must be said *in the church* to be effectual, and by the priest, and yet indulge these same superstitions all their lives. I am afraid that three-fourths of all the consecrations of houses in New England are no better than Romish superstition, and a rank offense to God, especially when offered by a people whom He has blessed with such abundant light. The New Testament thoroughly forbids the limiting of God to groves, mountains, or houses, as the places more than others of his presence, even in its highest and most gracious extents. I doubt, in fact, whether it is strictly lawful, even with the most intelligent and spiritual views, to consecrate or dedicate a house to God and his worship exclusively, otherwise than as we dedicate all we have to Him. What right have Christians to invest great sums of money in a house, and then shut it up to worship entirely, more than they have to shut themselves away from usefulness to devotion? A house is a place for special convenience for men, not for the special presence of God. The idea that God is in the house is just the idea which a heathen man has about his idol. He does not generally think that the stone is God, but that God is in it, and why not as much in a hewn stone or carved block, as in brick walls, or wooden pews?

Finally, we see that people, now as well as formerly, "are too superstitious." They love to be superstitious. They are dissatisfied with a religion altogether spiritual, with a God altogether a Spirit, with a Savior whose mission was entirely to purify the hearts of His people. The human heart longs for something material on which to rely:—something besides meeting God spiritually, and dwelling in Him. The superstitions of Rome and of Paganism are only cultivations of the natural propensities of the human heart, propensities which grow rank and strong without cultivation. How great was the work which Christ undertook!

How entirely unlike that which had been undertaken by any man before Him; and how blessed are they who, washed and redeemed by Him, have been admitted to His church, received into covenant with Him, and made joint heirs with Him to an inheritance which is incorruptible and undefiled, and fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for them!

THE DISTINCTIVE PRINCIPLES OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH POLITY COMPARED WITH OTHER DENOMINATIONS.

[*From an unpublished Manuscript.*]

As the rights and duties of the church member are essentially modified by the polity of the church to which he belongs, it is important to him, and also to the church, that he should understand the principles of that polity. The government of a church, like any other government, is a practical thing: it defines relations, distributes powers, prescribes duties. And these vary with the character of the system. It is therefore obvious, that though all believers, considered simply as disciples of Christ, have the same duties to discharge, yet considered as subject to this or that particular ecclesiastical organization, their duties, as well as their privileges, may be quite diverse. As the active duties of a citizen of a republic are not the same as those of the passive subject of an oligarchy,—being more numerous, more responsible, more noble; so, under the various schemes of church order, there is more or less for the laity to do, or to submit to, in the management of affairs, as the schemes have more or less the character of free institutions.

1. Congregational church polity is distinguished from the Protestant or Methodist Episcopal Church, by the principle that all Christ's servants in the ministry of the gospel *are equal in rank.*

The preëminence of one servant of our Lord over another appears to be inconsistent with the genius of Christianity: for He has said, "The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; but it shall not be so amongst you." Matt. xx. 25, 26. "One is your master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren." Matt. xxiii. 8. The Apostle Peter assumed not this superiority—"the *presbyters* who are among you I exhort, who am also a *presbyter*. Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the *oversight* not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being *lords* over God's heritage, but ensamples to the flock." 1 Peter v. 2, 3. The identity of the terms *Presbyter*

and *Bishop* is obvious on the very face of the apostolical writings; the *bishops* being called *presbyters*, and the *presbyters bishops*. In Acts xx. the same persons who, at the 17th verse, are termed *elders* or *presbyters*, are, in the 28th verse, called *overseers* or *bishops*. In his epistle to Titus, Paul, after having declared it to have been his design, in leaving the evangelist in Crete, that he should ordain *elders* in every city, at once proceeds to enumerate some of the principal qualifications by which they should be distinguished, and in the midst of the recital, he says, "for a *bishop* must be blameless," &c.—Tit. i. 5–7.

As such superiority is unscriptural, so it is found to be *useless*. In those communions where such gradations are acknowledged, peace is not secured by concession, but rather discord. The evils arising from ambition, pride, and tyranny, the natural fruits of such ascendency, are far more destructive to the interests of true religion than the differences of opinion which equality produces; diversity of judgment may be silenced, but cannot be prevented by an appeal to authority.

2. Congregational church polity is distinguished from Episcopacy and Presbyterianism by the principle, that the only organized church it owns is *a particular church or congregation of believers* statedly worshiping in *one place*. National churches, like the Protestant Episcopal Church, *the Presbyterian Church*, including many particular churches, and governed by general officers, irresponsible to the brotherhood, have no place in the Congregational system. "The plan pursued by the apostles seems to have been," says Archbishop Whateley, "to establish a great number of small (in comparison with most modern churches) distinct and independent communities . . . occasionally conferring with the brethren in other churches, but owing no submission to the rulers of any other church, or to any central or common authority, except to the apostles themselves," whose office was extraordinary, and but for a limited time.

This may be confirmed by an appeal to the New Testament. Look at the superscription of the epistle to the church of Corinth. Corinth was in the province of Achaia. In that province there were other churches besides that in the city of Corinth. If then, a national church had existed, like the Episcopal or Presbyterian Church of the present day, the epistle would have been addressed to the Church of Achaia. But, in truth, the independence of the church at Cenchrea, the port of Corinth, and but a few miles distant from the city, is directly recognized by the apostle, Rom. xvi. 1. He also speaks of "the *churches* of God in Judea," 1 Thes. ii. 14, "the *churches* of Galatia," Gal. i. 2. And John speaks of "the *seven churches* which are in Asia," Rev. i. 11.

Church history fully sustains these interpretations. Mosheim, in his Commentaries on the affairs of the Christians, says, "Although all the churches were, in the first ages of Christianity, united together in one common bond of faith and love, and were in every respect ready to promote the interest and welfare of each other by a reciprocal interchange of good offices; yet, with regard to government and internal economy, every individual church considered itself as an independent community, none of them ever looking, in these respects, beyond the circle of its own members for assistance, or recognizing any sort of external influence or authority. Neither in the New Testament, nor in any ancient document whatever, do we find anything recorded, whence it might be inferred that any of the minor churches were at all dependent on, or looked up for direction to, those of greater magnitude or consequence; on the contrary, several things occur therein which put it out of doubt that every one of them enjoyed the same rights, and was considered as being on a footing of the most perfect equality with the rest." Tertullian tells us expressly, in his time, that the churches were free and equal in rank and authority.

Gibbon has truly said, "The (Christian) societies which were instituted in the cities of the Roman empire were united only by the ties of faith and charity. Every society formed within itself a separate and independent republic; and, although the most distant of these little states maintained a mutual as well as friendly intercourse by letters and deputations, the Christian world was not yet connected by any supreme authority or legislative assembly."

3. Congregational church polity is distinguished from the forementioned systems by the principle *that all church power resides in the church itself, and not in the church officers:* and resides in each particular church, directly and originally, by virtue of the expressed or implied compact of its members, and not habitually or by virtue of any authority derived by succession from some higher body, ecclesiastical or clerical. Bishop Beveridge, in commenting upon Matthew xviii., tells the laity, if any one trespass against them they must tell it to the clergy. The Presbyterian Church directs the same thing to be told to the session, a body of ruling elders, charged with the spiritual government of the congregation. Plan of Gov., ch. x. § 6. Are we not commanded by Christ, if a brother trespass against us, to take certain steps to gain him, and if those fail, to "tell it to the *church?*"

Of the design of our Lord to establish what should be emphatically a *social religion,* "a fellowship" or "communion of saints," "there can be," says Archbishop Whately, "I think, no

doubt in the mind of any reflecting reader of our sacred books. Besides our Lord's general promise of 'coming into and dwelling in *any man* who should love him and keep his sayings,' there is a distinct promise also of an especial presence in any *assembly*, even if 'two or three are gathered together in his name.' Besides the general promises made to prayer—to the prayer of the individual 'in the closet,' there is a distinct promise also to 'those who shall agree together touching something they shall ask.' And it is in conformity with His own institution that Christians have ever since celebrated what they designate as emphatically *the communion*, by meeting together to break bread in commemoration of His redemption of his people. His design, in short, manifestly was to adapt his religion to the *social* principles of man's nature, and to bind his disciples, throughout all ages, to each other by those ties of mutual attachment, sympathy and coöperation, which, in every human community and association, of whatever kind, are found so powerful." The archbishop then proceeds to consider how much is implied in the constituting of a *community*, and what are the inherent properties and universal character naturally and necessarily belonging to any regularly constituted society as such, for whatever purpose formed. And he concludes that it belongs to the very essence of a community, that it should have *officers*, *rules*, and *power* of admitting and excluding persons as *members*. These principles of common sense were acted upon by the first churches, under the immediate direction of our Lord and his apostles. They elected their officers, Acts vi. 2–6; received their members, Rom. xiv. 1; dealt with offenders, Matt. xviii. 17; Gal. vi. 1; excluded the impenitent, 1 Cor. v. 4, 5; and restored those who repented, 2 Cor. ii. 6–8. If all church power was vested in the brotherhood, in primitive times, it is too late to question the wisdom of continuing the power in the same hands, in this enlightened age.

4. Congregational church polity is distinguished from strict independency by the principle of association or conference of churches.

It has been already shown that the first churches, though independent, were united by the ties of faith and charity. This is seen by their mutual salutations: Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; 1 Pet. v. 13: in their consultations by delegates or messengers, Acts xv. pas.; 2 Cor. viii. 23-24; Phil. ii. 29: by pecuniary contributions, Acts xi. 20–30; 2 Cor. viii. 9; 1 Cor. xvi. 1–4: by letters of commendation, Rom. xvi. 1–22; 2 Cor. iii. 1; Col. iv. 10.

Association of churches is highly important, and must take place, in as far as religion prospers among them. If they are

guided by the Word of God, they will have the same end in view, and consequently must be united. But in order to its being beneficial it must be *voluntary*. As love is the perfect and only bond by which the members of a single church are connected, this is sufficient for uniting different churches. Love alone can produce useful coöperation amongst them. Considering the relation in which they stand to each other, it is highly important that, by mutual good offices, they should cultivate brotherly love. This may be done by their giving and receiving advice; by their praying for each other, especially when anything difficult or important occurs; by their joining to promote the spread of the gospel; by their sending messengers to one another, as we find the apostolic churches did, 2 Cor. viii. 23; by their communicating each other's necessities, and by many things similar. Such correspondence is calculated to have the happiest effects, while it allows the most perfect liberty and independence to each church.

5. Congregational church polity is distinguished from that novel scheme which would supersede the pastoral office and a stated ministry.

It is doubtless true that every Christian man who understands the truth should teach it; especially that truth which is essentially connected with salvation. Still the sacred writings always distinguish between ministers and believers generally, between the pastors and the flock, the teachers and the taught. "To all the saints which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons," Phil. i. 1. "Let him that is taught communicate to him that teacheth in all good things," Gal. vi. 6. "Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel," 1 Cor. ix. 14. "If all were teachers, where were the taught? If all were pastors, where were the flock? If the body were the eye, where were the hearing?" The gifted brethren in the church at Corinth possessed remarkable and miraculous powers, and the apostle Paul has given directions for the exercise of their special and supernatural endowments, 1 Cor. xiv. 31; but these are not possessed in the present day.

"It does not follow," says the learned Neander, "that all the members of the church were destined to the ordinary office of teaching; there is a great distinction between a regular capability of teaching, always under the control of him who possessed it, and an outpouring (like prophecy or the gift of tongues) proceeding from a sudden inspiration, and accompanied with a peculiar and elevated, but transient state of mind. On such transient excitements, care for the maintenance, propagation and advancement of clear religious knowledge could not be made safely to depend." Although all Christians must be taught only by one heavenly

Guide, yet, regard to the weakness of human nature, which is destined to keep the treasures of heaven in earthen vessels, made it requisite that persons should never be wanting in the Church who were peculiarly qualified constantly to set before their brethren their relation to the common Guide and Redeemer of all. Such a capability of expounding presupposed a certain cultivation of intellect, a certain clearness and acuteness of thought, and a certain power of communicating its impressions to others, which, when they were present, and penetrated by the power of the Spirit of God, became the gift of teaching. For this reasonable and Divine ordinance the Congregational churches plead, regarding the maintenance of the Christian ministry in an adequate degree of learning, as one of their special cares, that the cause of the gospel may be both honorably sustained and constantly promoted.

6. The Congregational church polity is distinguished from the system of the *Baptist* churches by the principle of the right of believing parents to dedicate their infant children to God in baptism; by the principle that water is to be applied to the person, and not the person to the water; and by the principle of open communion with all who make a creditable profession of being Christ's disciples, irrespective of the mode of baptism.

(1.) God ordained and established the families of the earth, and connected with that economy his truth and worship for two thousand years. The family of Abraham was favored with a rite of purification, observed not only by the fathers, but performed on their infant sons. Jehovah was "the God of all the families of Israel," and in Christ "all the families of the earth are to be blessed." Wherever the gospel is received by the head of the family, "salvation has come to that house." Thus "the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife (who believes,) and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband (who believes); else were your children unclean, but now are they holy," 1 Cor. vii. 14. As Jesus saves his people from their sins, so baptism with the element of cleansing is a proper symbol of that spiritual purification, as circumcision was under the patriarchal and Levitical economies. The apostle Peter, therefore, exhorted the inquiring multitude, "Be ye baptized every one of you," &c. "For the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off," &c., Acts ii. 38, 39. "The reason why you, parents, should be baptized is, that the promise is to you; but the promise is to your children also, and therefore they should be baptized too." Thus, Lydia was baptized, and *all her household.* The jailor at Philippi and *all his.*—Acts xvi. 15, 33. Paul baptized the *household of* Stephanus, 1 Cor. i. 16. Justin Martyr, who wrote about forty years after the apostolic age, says,

"Several persons amongst us, both men and women, *of sixty and seventy years old*, who were *made disciples* to Christ in *or from their infancy*, do continue uncorrupt," &c. Now they could not be proselyted or made disciples from their infancy, without being treated as such, that is, being baptized. (Matt. xxviii. 19.) *Sixty* or *seventy* years from the time of Justin carries us back almost into the middle of the apostolic age, the period at which these aged Christians were so discipled.

(2.) In baptism water is to be applied to the person. Under the Mosaic law all the rites of purification and consecration were so performed. "He sprinkled with blood," &c. "Almost all things purged *with* blood," &c. "*With* my holy oil have I anointed him." "I shall be anointed *with* fresh oil." "I will sprinkle clean water upon you," &c. "Ye shall be baptized *with* the Holy Ghost." How? He fell upon them—poured forth—shed forth, &c. Circumstances render this mode more probable. The multitudes who were baptized by John, and, on the day of Pentecost, did not anticipate the reception of baptism, and were unprepared for it by immersion. It is not likely that the baptism of Paul, Acts ix. 9, 18, 19, or that of the jailor, Acts xvi. 33, was by immersion. The quantity of the element employed cannot determine the right observance of an ordinance. The Lord's *Supper* conveys the idea of a *meal*; yet we take the smallest quantity of bread and wine. Why may not the use of the smallest quantity of water, as the sign of cleansing, be accounted baptism?

(3.) That man makes a credible profession of discipleship to Christ who observes all things that are made plain to his mind from the New Testament. This is the case with those who observe baptism in either mode, and therefore, neither should exclude the other from the Lord's table. "He who is accepted of Christ should be accepted of his brethren."

THE SAYBROOK PLATFORM.

[*From an unpublished Manuscript.*]

In the year 1648 the *Cambridge* Platform was established by a convention of members from all the colonies, after a long deliberation, which spread over several years. It accorded with the general usage of the churches, which was then very much the same as it is now in Massachusetts. It recognized the churches individually, as the only depositories of ecclesiastical authority, having no superior or court of any sort possessing the right to review their doings. Ordination, that Platform declares "nothing

else but the solemn putting of a man in his place and office in the church, whereunto he had right before by election." One of the designs in calling the convention at Cambridge is stated in its history to have been "for correcting some of the churches who were thought to favor the discipline of the Presbyterians." This Platform left the churches perfectly free and independent, for although the clergy met in associations, such as were convenient, and sometimes large conventions were brought together to consider specific subjects, yet none of the assemblies possessed any official authority over the churches. This Platform was adopted and practiced upon in all the colonies. The Presbyterian tendencies however were not entirely extinguished by it, but continued to exert themselves, especially in Connecticut, which was the border territory between the two denominations. "Some closer bond of union among churches and ministers, seems to have been early and generally desired," says the history prefixed to the Saybrook Platform. This desire came to its denouement in 1708, when "the Legislature passed an act requiring the ministers and churches to meet and form an ecclesiastical constitution," "from which," says the legislative resolution, "would arise a permanent establishment among ourselves, a good and regular issue in cases subject of ecclesiastical discipline." This Convention assembled at Saybrook, September 9, 1708. The only important measure of the meeting was the establishment of an ecclesiastical jurisprudence under the name of "Consociation." The consociations were to exist one or more in each county, and to be composed of the pastors, and one or more delegates from each church, though nothing was to be "deemed an act or judgment of any council which hath not the act of the major part of the *elders* (pastors) present concurring." The consociations were to have final jurisdiction of all cases committed to them, but their jurisdiction extended *only to cases of discipline*, and only the *church* could call the consociation, the "offending brother," or person under discipline, being expressly denied this privilege. The consociation therefore was a *permanent authoritative council* upon which the *churches* had a right to call in cases of *discipline*. The spirit of liberty for a long time resisted this plan, and as late as the beginning of the present century in all the Eastern half of the State the churches knew nothing of it. Since that time, however, these organizations have been pushed with great earnestness by many clergymen, and they have besides arrogated powers which are not at all conferred by the Platform. They even go so far as to declare that the churches can call no council but from the consociation and through its officers, and especially is this insisted on with regard to councils for the installation and dismission of

pastors. In most, if not all, the consociations, the pastors now insist that the churches can neither settle nor dismiss ministers, but with the consent of a majority of the pastors of the consociation, and some pastors under this assumption go so far as to intimate that they are secure in their places in despite of the opinion and desire of the church and parish, with which they are connected. But all this is sheer assumption without the least shadow of authority in the Platform. The consociated churches are not *obliged* to take the advice of consociation on any occasion, and have the same right to settle and dismiss their pastors by the aid of mutual councils, or with any other councils, that they would have had if the Saybrook Platform had never been laid. All a consociated church is bound to do is, if it calls the consociation, to obey its judgment in the matter of discipline submitted. The authority claimed by the consociations, that they alone can install and dismiss pastors, is obviously inconsistent with Congregationalism, the fundamental principle of which is, that every church is complete in itself, possessing all the powers requisite for the appointment of its officers and the management of its affairs. A church which should surrender its right to elect its own pastor would surrender an essential right of Christian liberty, and would have no good claim afterward to be called a Congregational church. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the history of the consociations to be able to say, how in all cases, they accumulated the powers which they claim. I happen to know of the consociation in New London county, that having induced most of the churches to join it as an arrangement for mutual edification, expressly disclaiming all authority, the consociation at one of its meetings *resolved itself* into the only ecclesiastical council to be holden in the county. It happened that at that moment one of the consociated churches had an ordination on hand, and had already sent out letters missive, inviting several sister churches to assist them on the joyful occasion. As the vote of consociation forbade this procedure, the church had no alternative but to recall its letters and submit to the assumption of consociation, or withdraw from it altogether. They preferred the latter.

It is sufficiently evident from what I have written, that the scheme of Consociation, as now carried out in Connecticut, is radically wrong. It has certainly no claim to have been constructed after any apostolic model. It requires some close and personal inspection to be able to see what the practical effects of such a system are. Erroneous systems always in some way work practical mischief. I have been more or less in Connecticut, and have noticed the following evils:

First, discussion and differences of opinion respecting the propriety of the system.

Secondly, a growing jealousy of the pastors under the suspicion that they are aspiring after power, and endeavoring to form a combination among themselves, under cover of which they can keep their places, and set disaffection at defiance. This is the more likely to be strong, as the people believe, that whenever a pastor becomes dissatisfied with them, or has a better place, or a more useful one offered him, and has a mind to go, he will go.

Thirdly, a disposition to withdraw from consociation, which is suppressed only by the known wishes of the pastors, and is so secretly undermining them in the affections of their people, or breaking out in open collision.

Fourthly, an unfavorable relationship between churches which have withdrawn, or have stood aloof from Consociation, and their sister churches, but especially the pastors of those churches. The effort of the clergy to induce churches to come into the consociations, to prevent them from withdrawing, and when they do withdraw to prevent their example from being followed by others, is encountered with the worst prejudices. I know one instance at least, where a great deal of mischief is secretly working in this way.

These evils may not as yet be very extensively visible, especially to the pastors, who are likely to know less of them than anybody else. But the developments will be more and more distinct from year to year. I wonder that so very intelligent and influential a community of men as the clergy of Connecticut should subject themselves to these evils, for so little good as can possibly come of Consociation. They have the power to hold a controlling sway by means of their superior learning and piety, and very little other sway can they possibly acquire. Why then should they excite the jealousy of their people to no purpose? Doubtless they think that the good of the churches would be promoted by more of what is termed "permanency in the ministerial office." Possibly Consociation may for a time increase that permanency, but I am mistaken if in the end its effects be not quite the reverse. The feeling of subjugation to ecclesiastical authority is operating injuriously upon the Congregational churches of Connecticut, and aiding other denominations. The people there will not submit quietly to what they deem a clerical usurpation, and I apprehend if Consociation is persisted in, with its offensive features, that it will work commotion in many churches, if not a general revolution. I am glad to see by the debates in the General Association of Connecticut, that at least some clergymen are disposed to let the whole system fall into disuse. That it will be

thrown off eventually, I have no doubt. If the clergy are not men of practical good sense enough to see this, and insist on the usurpation which they have established, then many parishes will dwindle away by certificating, and linger along under disaffection, until the clergy or the churches perceive that this mongrel hierarchy is destroying Congregationalism in the "land of steady habits." I hope the discovery may be made in season to avert such a result.

ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION.

[*From an unpublished Manuscript.*]

Of all the evils of political government, one of the greatest is over-legislation—too much interference with individual choice. When bodies of men come together clothed with authority, they must needs exercise that authority. But if the exercise of authority were confined to proper objects, and within proper limits, the laws to be passed would be so few, and the affairs of government so simple, that to be a legislator would be no mighty matter. There are always many evils in society, and many things which would be right if let alone have been made wrong by previous legislation, so that at every session the labor of putting everything just right exactly, is sufficient to make much talk and raise much dust One honorable gentleman has his fences made of upright strips of board or pickets, and his neighbors' pigs press their lank sides between them. He, therefore, moves for a bill requiring that all swine running at large in the highway shall be restrained by yokes made of four sticks, so placed as to form a square in the center, the ends projecting each way to the distance of six inches. This disposition to *regulate* everything by statute law is often extended to the most injurious interference with individual liberty and private rights. A thousand matters, which, if left to liberty and the laws which God has made, would pass off with order and usefulness, are thrown out of order and out of use by indiscreet efforts at too much regulation. The exceeding simplicity of wise government has hardly as yet been comprehended by the mass of men, much less by those who occupy positions of authority and supervision. It is coming, we hope, to be understood that *liberty* is the great conservative power, and that the government is strongest which is least felt, and that society most peaceful, as a general rule, which is most left to itself. What an illustrious display of the power of liberty to produce good order

have we just had in our national election! Two mighty parties who for months have been training for action, until charged with excitement in every nerve, have marched to the polls, deposited their ballots, and the strife is ended. Scarcely a blow has been struck or a drop of blood shed. Not a life has been lost. The defeated party acquiesce in the result, and would defend the government elect from all attempts at unconstitutional violence with as much zeal as the party which has been successful. Not a soldier has been called out to preserve the peace, nor has any force been on the ground beyond small bodies of policemen with their staves. *This is the peace of liberty!* The wisest efforts of arbitrary government never equaled it, never approached it.

In religious concerns our governing has been carried to even a more injurious extent than in politics. Private judgment and private action have in most ages of Christianity, as well as of all other systems, been the most alarming objects for contemplation by the rulers. So much legislation has been enacted to prevent errors of doctrine and disorders of practice, that men were brought to believe almost nothing which was true, and to act for nothing which was desirable. Noble man was made an ignoble machine. We have escaped by the good providence of God, and the wonderful sacrifices of our fathers, from the worst of these trammels, and yet we should be unwise to suppose that the disposition in leading men, which produced the mischief is not as rife now as ever.

The fondness for public display, the disposition to act on an extended scale, mingled with the very sincere opinion entertained by almost every man that he is wiser than his fellow-men, and so eminently qualified to rule usefully and extensively, will constantly be originating large plans of government. Merely to *feed the sheep and feed the lambs* is too simple a business to fill the desires of man's expanding bosom. We have been surprised to see by the reports of the religious papers what mighty assemblages have been in labor during the summer and autumn. Conventions, synods, councils, unions, conferences, and more besides, quarterly, annual, and triennial, have been passing before us. No sect is so small but that it builds up its little scaffold on which its wise men move to and fro, and from which they scatter their decrees of regulation, opinion, and advice. We have been most interested in these assemblages among the denominations with which we are best acquainted. There was a great convention of Presbyterians and Congregationalists at Cleveland last summer, which interested us a good deal, and we laid aside the religious papers containing the reports of its proceedings, in-

tending to mingle our wisdom with the wisdom of that numerous, learned, reverend, and pious body. But other topics more immediately belonging to our own diocese occupied us, and the convention has passed into the distance. What particularly attracted our attention in the proceedings of that body was the universality of its jurisdiction. It was not the judicatory or legislature of any particular denomination, but a body which had called itself together; yet it seemed to think itself the parliament of the realm, acting under a most satisfactory weight of responsibility. That the great affairs which hung upon its decisions might receive attention in due order, they were distributed to the hands of standing committees. Slavery in the United States was committed to one committee, colleges and education to another, newspapers to another, colportage to another.

After informing the world what ought to be believed and done with regard to most or all of these matters, the important assembly adjourned, not, we are happy to say, without determining to hold another such-like assembly next year, when we trust the annexation of Texas, the regulation of the currency, and the protective system will not be neglected. Indeed, we could not help thinking that *protection* against unauthorized competition was not altogether forgotten at Cleveland.

CHRISTIAN UNION.—THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, October* 29, 1846.]

A GREAT number of persons have, in these latter years, set upon finding Christian union, or the basis of it; yet the search seems to have been only as successful as that in old times for the philosopher's stone. What Christian *dis*union is, every man can easily ascertain; for he finds his own heart and all his propensities full of it. His *conscience* is ever alive to it; *that* conscience which would not allow the negro to work, viz.: "something in here which says I *won't*." There are so many paths to disunion, that they cover all the ground, and render it evident that, if there is any path of union, it is indeed a strait and narrow way.

Especially has the search been reanimated lately, by the assembling of twelve hundred men at London, to make one great effort to find, if possible, this long-lost pearl. They all agreed that it was a pearl of great price, which a man might well compass sea and land, and sell all that he had, to buy. They were the wise men of the East and the West, learned in everything, ancient and modern, and evidently intent, with one mind and with great zeal,

in the search, and determined, if there were any such thing as Christian union, however deep it might be buried beneath superstition, bigotry, fanaticism, arrogance, and whatever else may go to make up the great sectarian compost, that they would dig it out and show it to a curious and contemptuous world. They did cast away mountains of the compost, and did find some gems of truth and harmony, well worth the cost and trouble of the search; but, that they did not discover the great truth for which they sought, was evidently the sad conviction which settled down on all their minds. In fact, after all the joyfulness of the meeting, they seem to have separated with the impression rather more distinct than before, that there was really no such thing as they sought; at any rate not in London, for they made arrangements for branch unions, local, detached searchings in various places, where small, imperfect gems may be found, but where they all knew the grand pearl lay not. They appeared to understand that another general, broad, universal, catholic search would not soon be attempted, and Dr. Beecher, who was as earnest in the search as any one, states on his return, publicly and repeated., , that all which was found, or which could be found, was the union of the *majority, or the possible number*, which is plainly an abandonment of the whole thing. What this council of twelve hundred did find, they have laid before the world in the following propositions:

THE DOCTRINAL BASIS.

1. The persons composing the Alliance shall be such persons only as hold and maintain what are usually understood to be evangelical views, in regard to matters of doctrine understated, viz.:

1. The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.

2. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

3. The unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of Persons therein.

4. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall.

5. The incarnation of the Son of God, (and) his work of atonement for sinners of mankind, *and his mediatorial intercession and reign.*

6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.

7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.

8. *The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked.*

9. The Divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the (authority,) *obligation* and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

It is, however, distinctly (declared,) *First*, that this brief summary is not to be regarded in any formal *or ecclesiastical* sense, as a creed or confession, nor the adoption of it as involving an assumption of the right authoritatively to define the limits of Christian brotherhood, but

simply as an indication of the class of persons whom it is desirable to embrace within the Alliance: *Second*, that the selection of certain tenets, with the omission of others, is not to be held as implying that the former constitute the whole body of important truth, or that the latter are unimportant.

II. That the Alliance is not to be considered as an alliance of denominations, or branches of the Church, but of individual Christians, each acting on his own responsibility.

III. That in the prosecution of the present attempt, it is distinctly declared, that no compromise of the views of any member, or sanction of those of others, on the points wherein they differ, is either required or expected; but that all are held as free as before to maintain and advocate their religious convictions, with due forbearance and brotherly love.

IV. That it is not contemplated that this Alliance should assume or aim at the character of a new ecclesiastical organization, claiming and exercising the functions of a Christian church. Its simple and comprehensive object, it is strongly felt, may be successfully promoted without interfering with, or disturbing the order of, any branch of the Christian Church to which its members may respectively belong.

V. That while the formation of this Alliance is regarded as an important step toward the increase of Christian union, it is acknowledged as a duty incumbent on all its members carefully to abstain from pronouncing any uncharitable judgment upon those who do not feel themselves in a condition to give it their sanction.

VI. That the members of this Alliance earnestly and affectionately recommend to each, in their own conduct, and particularly in their own use of the press, carefully to abstain from and put away all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil speaking, with all malice; and in all things in which they may yet differ from each other, to be kind, tender-hearted, forbearing one another in love, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven them; in everything seeking to be followers of God, as dear children, and to walk in love, as Christ also loved them.

When men assume to form a union of the disciples of any master, they are obviously bound to make no other conditions to the union than the master has made. To put in other things than *He* has put in, and then assume this extended basis as the true basis of union, is unjust, as well as erroneous, for it excludes some whom the Master has received. The idea of Christian union (if men have any distinct idea about it) must be the union of all the real disciples of Christ, and it proceeds upon the assumption that there are certain things essential to discipleship, and that of course these essentials are common to all, and that upon them, all the disciples can come together in harmony. This thought receives additional interest and illustration from the expectation that all who possess these essential things will dwell together in heaven with Christ, and spend their future life in perfect harmony with Him and one another. This theory is simple, and every mind comes irresistibly to the conclusion that it is possible to begin this union on earth. Why is it, then, that so much

honest effort cannot reach this so much-desired union? Is it impossible in the nature of the case to ascertain the common ground of unity in the common essentials? or is there still so much superstition, and error, and sectarianism, and selfishness, hanging in scales upon the eyes of the wise and good, that they have no vision to perceive that which is most obvious?

It is clear that such an union must be formed solely for the sake of union, and the joy and benefit of union, without the intention of doing anything whatever. It must be "union for the sake of union," or it is something besides simple union upon essentials. To put in something to do would be to make a union of so many as could agree to do that thing, and so would shut out all who do not approve of this particular *mode* of *exhibiting* their discipleship.

We shall not go so far out of our proper course as to make a theological argument to prove how much is essential to Christian discipleship. The "doctrinal basis" of the Alliance shows why they could not find the union which they sought. The sixth and shortest article discloses the mischief. Say the Alliance, "The justification of the sinner is by faith *alone*." If this is so, then *faith is the only essential*, and all the other articles are extra-judicial, non-essentials, about which disciples may differ, and still be disciples. If we remember right, this is very much as Christ preached, and laid the matter down himself. We cannot recollect that he anywhere mentioned any one of the eight articles as essential to discipleship. "Wha'—wha'—wha'—what do you say?" stammer a thousand tongues; "that we must take in every man who says he has faith? Why, that would include Quakers, Czerski, and even Papists. Monstrous! monstrous!!" Well, monstrous as it is, you must, according to your own showing, gulp it down, if you would have Christian union in its perfectness. All the rest may be very great truths, and very necessary to be believed, in order to the most perfect Christian character, but you have made them all non-essential by your own great declaration, faith alone is the ground of justification. But let us see whether all the rest is exactly true. What do you ministers mean by making your divine right one of the nine bars of your inclosure? Do you, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, and ministers of all denominations, mean, here in the middle of the nineteenth century, to declare soberly to a gaping world, that there can be no church without a bishop; in short, no church without YOU? Verily, you may have the basis of a *ministerial* union, of a hierarchy as broad as the earth; but if the laity set up their occupations as just as much of "divine institution" as yours, why then you have the union of a

caste, and nothing more. Did you have any distinct idea at all, when you adopted this corner-stone of superstition in pagan and papal churches? This is the doctrine which has rent all Christendom, and caused nine-tenths of all the persecution under which our race has groaned. If it means anything, it means that you are something which other men are not; and can do things with a mysterious efficacy which other men cannot impart. Do you mean that you are brought into this "divine institution" by certain manipulations which were performed by those already in it, by which an *official* character or nature was imparted to you, separated from your personal character; so that you may be very good official actors in God's name, though personally, some of you perhaps have paid Him little homage, and spend your time in the service of another master? We think some of the American gentlemen are bound to tell whether the atmosphere of their hall was bedimmed by Puseyism, that they adopted this fundamental doctrine of Popery; or whether they do indeed hold it in the pure air of America; and if they do hold it here, what they intend us, the people, to understand by it. It was the promulgation and belief of such things which engendered the infidelity of France, and does the same [illegible] countries where they are generally adopted. Intelligent men [illegible] nothing else about Christianity, get to think it only a system [illegible]iestcraft on one side, and superstition on the other, and cry, "Crush the wretch!" because they think the author of Christianity was the author of the abuses which they see around them.

It was especially out of keeping to put forth such a dogma as essential to Christian union, when the assembly which put it forth was convened in utter rejection of it. Twelve hundred constituted the union, yet one, not of the divine institution, presided over them, and in every way their practice was in contradiction to the theory. The Alliance thought it necessary to declare that they did not aim at "exercising the functions of a Christian church," implying that their assembly might be so regarded, and would be so in reality if they but determined so, yet there were no principalities nor powers—nothing but gifts. But they *were* a church for the time being, and performed all the functions of a church, and very much after the primitive fashion, too. If Christ had appeared personally among them, and said, "I am your Master, and all ye are brethren," all of them would have united in a hearty response. What denomination did this church of the Alliance belong to? and after what plan was it made? It was a thing worth contemplating in this light, as well as many others. Men often pay homage to the truth by their conduct, while

they little think of it, and even while their lips avow quite opposite doctrines.

But although the Alliance did not find the great truth which they sought, and made some very painful mistakes in their efforts to find it or to set it up, yet they did make some great discoveries. They learned unanimously, that an individual disciple had, in himself, and without being sent or appointed by any ecclesiastical body, a divine right to go in his own name to the Alliance, and there to act in his own name and upon his own responsibility. This was a hard saying when first broached in the *Free* Church of Scotland, and long did the judicatories debate it before they could agree not to forbid it. This, then, was a meeting of the people; a thoroughly democratic assemblage of *men*, who, however much of divine right they might suppose themselves to possess in their official capacities at home, carried none of it there. They came, not as delegates, nor functionaries, but merely as Christian *men*. This was the fact, though they seem scarcely to have been aware of it. Yet they acted upon it throughout. A great advance that, in Christian opinion, which allows that a Christian has a right in himself to attend a voluntary assembly of his fellow-Christians, and commune with them about Christian union. Then to agree that such a body of mere individuals had a right to make a creed, to deliberate, and publish their deliberations to the world, and even to declare that they did not "aim at the character of a new ecclesiastical organization," which was as much as to say that they could establish such an organization if they would, is certainly a very radical proceeding, tending to destroy reverence for office, and end—no one knows where.

Another important discovery was, that Christian union is a voluntary matter; a union not of denominations, but of individuals of congenial feelings; and that this is the only way in which a real unity can be attained.

The American delegation learned something about the notions of some of themselves, on anti-slavery excommunion. Gentlemen who have been shutting out slaveholders from their pulpits and communion-tables, found the same screw turned hard down upon themselves, as guilty participants in the system; for our English brethren are rampant Abolitionists, and hold us all guilty of being pro-slavery men, "pirates," "man-stealers," and all that, if we hesitate to denounce all slaveholders with these terms, in the true Garrison style. It was instructive to these gentlemen, just as the farmer's declaration, "It was your bull," instructed the lawyer. They were in a mass driven, by their own rule, from the communion of this church of the Alliance. In a single day they learned unanimously that this was not a proper ingredient

in the basis of Christian union. The lesson was worth a voyage to England, and we hope will enlarge and correct the views of these gentlemen for all their future course, and save them from forming more churches "on the anti-slavery and total-abstinence principle."

Upon the whole, Christian union among intelligent, thinking, independent minds is no easy thing, as the world goes. He that would compass it must have a great heart, a much greater one than beats in most of our degenerate, selfish, proud bosoms, however much better influences may have been at work there. He must have "the spirit of Christ" in measures always offered, but seldom accepted. He must be meek and lowly, and boundless in his benevolence, so that he can even love his enemies, and bless while they curse. He must have no ill-will toward any being—no, not toward that arch-angelic intelligence which led the hosts of heaven in their great revolt, and is now sunk with them to all the wretchedness of an eternal hatred of happiness and goodness. He must hate no one, wish none ill, but pity where he cannot love. He must have contemplated the benevolence of Christ until he has become enthusiastic in admiration and love, and is ready to follow him and imitate him, as the soldier does the captain with whom he will gladly rush to the cannon's mouth. He must have such an enthusiasm in his soul, that when he meets another man, he will ask nothing of him but whether he knows and loves the Great Captain, to give him the hand of fellowship, and, though he be poor and despised, to receive him as a brother beloved. A benevolence which knows no limit can alone realize Christian union. The great soul of Robert Hall was in the spirit of Christian union, when he said, "He who is good enough for Christ is good enough for *me*."

The possession of such hearts, and their active union together, was the thing sought for by the Christian Alliance; and although they did not come very near to the perfect enjoyment of what they desired, it is evident that the pursuit was ennobling and joyful beyond description. The idea is grand, and the feeblest effort to realize it worthy of all praise. No doubt the gentlemen who assembled have been and will continue to be richly repaid for their toils and various dangers, both in the scene itself and their reflections upon it. They will remember, too, that they will be expected to set noble examples hereafter; to meet in their various ecclesiastical bodies, without making it their first business to calumniate Southern Christians, and their second to kick the men of Oberlin, nor even abuse the Pope beyond his deserts, nor treat Satan himself as if they took pleasure in his pains.

The Alliance has done much incidental good. The Americans

have evidently made a strong impression on the Europeans, and the Europeans on them, and all on all. The impression is as good as it is strong. They better understand each other, and each other's nations. Mutual respect and esteem have to some extent taken the place of narrow prejudice. Real union has been increased, real truth impressed on all minds, and the ultimate accomplishment of an universal Catholic union made a subject of consideration and hope.

ROMANISM AND COLLATERAL SUBJECTS.

THE *Journal of Commerce* was perhaps the first secular newspaper in the United States which introduced into its columns a discussion of the doctrines, principles and claims of the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. Hale gives this account of the effect of his first allusion to this subject. "We had at the outset a few Catholic subscribers; but in giving an account of a great convention of Catholic clergymen at Baltimore, to say masses for the relief of the soul of a bishop, who had died some six months before, we happened to put in the thought which must have been uppermost in the minds of everybody, viz.: that the clergy had been very careless of their brother in that they had allowed him to roast in purgatory for six months before coming to his help. It was too much to be borne, and orders to 'stop my paper' came from all parts of the country. The loss however was not very great, and we were rather glad it occurred; for it released us from the peculiar restraint which we had felt under, not of fear, but of courtesy toward the religious predilections of subscribers. From that day we have felt at liberty, not to do wrong to Catholics, nor to enter into theological efforts to counteract

them, but to treat them as the best interests of the country seemed to us to require, whenever they have interfered improperly with American citizens, or their institutions."

When the question of the use of the Bible in public schools was agitated in New York, Mr. Hale took an active part in the discussion, and wrote several able articles against sectarian schools. In 1842 he had a controversy with Bishop Hughes, growing out of the criticisms of the Journal of Commerce upon the Bishop's "Pastoral Letter." As this discussion related chiefly to matters of fact, and incidents of mere passing moment, and as it was widely published in the third number of Mr. Hale's "Facts and Reasonings," it is deemed inexpedient to transfer the articles to these pages. Another discussion between Mr. Hale and a Committee of Roman Catholics, touching certain allegations in the *Journal of Commerce*, is omitted for the same reason. The Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States, which prefaced the edition of these documents referred to above, may serve as a general introduction to the articles which follow.

TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Fellow-Citizens:

You will, I suppose, hardly thank me for addressing this publication to you, for you probably think me a bitter enemy of all Catholics. Under such circumstances it would be folly in me to make professions of friendship. But there are some things in which your interests are identified with mine. As citizens of this great and free country, our interests are the same. Liberty is as important to you and your children, as it is to me and my children; and if our common liberty is overthrown, we shall suffer together, whether the instruments in the work be Catholics or Protestants. It would be doubly shameful in you, who have been admitted without stint to all the immunities of a free government already established, if you were to do anything, or allow anything to be done within your community, which should endanger those immunities. And let me tell you, if the general structure of a free government is to be sustained, every cord and fiber of sound principle, wherever it may wind itself, must be pre

served. The lofty mast of a great ship need not have an axe struck into it—if the shrouds are allowed to be cut, one after another, when the wind blows the mast will go by the board. We are fellow-citizens of this republic, and interested mutually and equally in the preservation of our fair possessions. We are also fellow-travelers to eternity, and interested alike to find out the way to a better world. God has marked out that way, and the consequences of error about it will be equally fatal to us both. There are, then, some reasons, why we should be friends. There are some subjects upon which our interests are identified.

There are also some principles in which I think we shall agree. One of these is that Jehovah is a God of truth,—never speaking falsely himself, nor authorizing others to do so in His name. If a prophet or a priest come to us proclaiming lies, then God has not sent him; or if in connection with some truth he proclaims some one or more palpable falsehoods, he is not God's ambassador,—at least so far as he is occupied with these falsehoods, and they throw great suspicion on his whole character. There are many points of difference between Catholics and Protestants, which, being dependent on long courses of reasoning, the truth cannot be ascertained with such certainty as to command universal assent. But with some matters of *fact* it is otherwise. If one man says that a substance lying in the street is rotten wood, and another says it is an iron shaft, it is not difficult to ascertain who speaks truly. There is one fact between us capable of similar demonstration. Your priests and your Church pronounce the Protestant versions of the Bible "spurious." Whether this is a truth or a falsehood it is easy for you to determine; for your Church has sanctioned the Douay translation as genuine. Let me ask you to take that, and one of the Bibles which are distributed by the Bible societies, such as were publicly burned at Corbeau, and compare the two together. I know several Catholics who have done so, and they all say, that the two translations are alike, except in a few words. If the two translations are alike, what becomes of the veracity of your Church and her priests?—for this is not a matter about which they are in ignorance. They know what the truth is in the case. If you find on examination that the Protestant Bibles are fair translations of the original, and not spurious, then their spuriousness is *not* the reason why you are forbidden to read them, nor is it the reason why they are gathered in heaps and burned. While you read for the purpose proposed, let me ask you to see if you can find any authority, in any Bible, for praying to saints, or worshiping the Virgin. If you find any passages which forbid that worship, note them in both Bibles. If you find that Protestants are right

in these two matters, as you certainly will, I hope your desire to know what is truth will not suffer you to rest until you have examined all the chief points of difference. Then, all I have to say is, go with God and truth.

In calling on you to vindicate our common liberty against spiritual usurpations, I ask you to do no more in your Church than I hold myself bound to do in mine. This paper, which I now present to you, is, as you see, the third of a series. The other two were published for the purpose of resisting wrongs in the Church to which I then belonged. The rights and duties of men in these respects are the same in all churches. In the support of our various religious denominations, let us never forget that we are Americans.

If Protestantism has done some things wrong, it has done some things right. This liberty of ours is Protestant liberty. There is no pretense that the institutions of this country were shaped by Roman Catholic priests. They were shaped by Protestant priests and laymen, and you praise them because they are rightly shaped. This universal education, which you find here, does not exist in Catholic countries, yet it is right, and you praise it. Protestantism therefore has done something well, and in some respects has secured your approbation. A system which has established liberty and universal education for the poor, you will not deny, is worthy of great praise. Let me ask you, not reproachfully, but respectfully and seriously, why, when you determined to leave Europe, you did not sail for South, rather than North America? The soil, the climate, all the natural advantages there, are quite as great as here, and the country has been longer settled. It is a Catholic country withal, and this is Protestant. Why did you not select the country to which your religious affinities would naturally have inclined you? You will say, perhaps, that South America has no liberty, no schools, no settled governments; that it has nothing which a wise man could enjoy, or a good father desire to leave as an inheritance to his children. Tell me now, why, in the civil condition of the two parts of this continent, there is everything you desire here, and everything you dislike there. You can give no other answer, there is no other answer, than this: South America was settled by Catholics, and is a Catholic country. North America was settled by Protestants, and is a Protestant country. Can the thing be good, which has worked such evil there, and that be evil, which has worked such good here? The free circulation of the Bible, that book of God, which your Church, whenever she has the power, forbids the people to read in *any translation;* that book is the pillar of our liberty, peace,

and happiness. It is a book of individual liberty. It is the gift of God, not to kings and priests only, but to all the race. It is addressed to you and me as men, and it tells each one of us how we may secure the favor of God and eternal life, without the help or the consent of the Church, the priests, or any other person. God gives you liberty to read the Bible, to believe in Jesus Christ, and be saved. More than this, you have no liberty not to read it. The way of salvation is laid down there by the Author of it—and do you think that all the priests on earth can veto His enactment? He says that "all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone." And do you suppose that if a liar were to be baptized every day, confess to a priest, and be absolved by him as often, at his death have rivers of oil poured upon him, and afterward millions of masses said for the repose of his soul, do you suppose that all this would keep him out of hell, or help him out after he was in? If you do, you suppose the Roman Catholic Church stronger than God.

Fellow-citizens, on this sheet I present you with copies of the correspondence, which I have held, on two different occasions, with leaders among you. In both cases your champions have retired, and left me alone in the field. Read these letters and let me receive at your hands, if not the kindness which belongs to a friend, at least the fairness which you accord to an enemy.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, February* 19, 1838.]

CATHOLIC MAGAZINE.

We received, a day or two ago, a small periodical, entitled "Children's Catholic Magazine." We hope it may have an extensive circulation among the Catholic children in our country; for if they read this, they will of course have first *learned to read*, and having learned to read, they will read whatever falls in their way, and soon learn to think as well as read. Even this little magazine, although thoroughly sectarian, teaches some good things.

We see on one of the first pages, this little statement as a matter of fact: "The last descendant of Martin Luther, now living in Germany, and very poor, lately abjured the Reformed, and adopted the Catholic religion." Well, there must be some comfort in that, to the Pope and his adherents, if the fact be so; and if it be not, the story is just as good. There are some *consequences* of Martin Luther not yet turned Catholic. Pray, do they, in thoroughly Catholic countries, print little magazines for

children to read? Under whose paternal promptings is this little Catholic manual put forth? Martin Luther is the father of it; and but for him, we dare venture anything, it would never have seen the day. Our newspapers, our periodicals, our public schools, are all the descendants of Martin Luther. The millions of our free-born population are all his children. But for him we might have been like the children of the Pope who live in Italy, near their father. Which is the happiest family?

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 11, 1841.]

SECTARIAN SCHOOLS.

It may be as well to go to the bottom of this subject at once, and to examine certain principles, which, even if not expressly mentioned in the discussion, exert a secret influence on the minds of others besides the Roman Catholics.

It is said that governments everywhere have a right to provide for their own existence, safety, and healthy operation, and of course may and ought to use the necessary means of doing it; that government cannot maintain itself and accomplish its purposes without a sense of religious obligation among the people; that, therefore, the government has the right, and is bound, to see that the people are religiously educated; that, as there neither is nor can be, in actual existence, any such thing as religion in general, without any particular form, religion can be taught only according to the form in which it is held by some sect; that the State cannot escape from that alternative by prescribing a form of its own in which religion shall be taught, as the adherents of that form would themselves be a sect; and that, therefore, the State has the right, and is bound by the necessity of providing for its own safety, to sustain sectarian schools.

This looks plausible; but before entering upon the path which it indicates, let us see whither it will lead us.

If the State is bound to teach religion as a means of preserving its own safety, it is certainly bound to teach such religion, and such only, as will answer that purpose. If the Mormons hold that the world and all it contains is theirs, and that they are soon to take possession of it, and have a right, even now, to take possession of such parts of it as they conveniently can, in disregard of the laws of all earthly governments, the State certainly should not teach the doctrines of that sect. If the Non-resistants hold that all human government is an abomination in the sight of God, and that no man ought to take any part in it, or pay any regard

to its mandates or decisions, the State ought not to teach the doctrines of that sect. If, as the Turks grow civilized, a company of the more fanatical among them, holding it a religious duty to kill "Christian dogs" and seize their property, should come and settle among us, to preserve their religion in its purity, the State ought not to teach the doctrines of that sect. If there be a denomination of professed Christians, whose doctrines encourage men to expect impunity in crime, the State ought not to teach its doctrines. If there be a sect whose doctrines inculcate the duty of overthrowing the present government and establishing another, even at the expense of civil war, or by the aid of armies called in from abroad,—and the history of more than one nation in Europe shows that such sects may exist,—the State ought not to teach its doctrines. Or, if there be any sect whose doctrines are inefficient, and fail to produce such a moral character in its disciples as the safety of the State requires to be found in its citizens, the State should not teach its doctrines. Nor may the State hazard its own safety by trying the experiment of teaching any new doctrine that may be proposed. It must teach, and cause its subjects to believe, such doctrines as are known to be safe. It must select such a creed as the safety of the State requires, and cause that creed to be inculcated. It must judge for itself, what sects are safe; and if but one such can be found, must select its doctrines as the religion to be taught by the State. If a multiplicity of sects is found to be dangerous, it must select the best among them and suppress the others.

Are we willing to intrust the State with such discretionary power over religion? To what purpose have we separated the Church from the State, if religion is thus to be brought under the control of the State by means of schools? Must there not be some error in the principles which lead to such a conclusion? But this is not all.

If the State must teach religion, it must have command of all the necessary means of teaching it. The most important means, the indispensable instrument, without which all others must be unavailing, is the pulpit. Without the pulpit, the citizens can never be made what the safety of the State requires them to be. Without the command of the pulpit, the command of the schools will never enable the State to teach religion so as to insure its own safety. If the State must produce in its citizens that religious character which its own safety requires, it must have command of the pulpit, as well as of the schools; it must secure such preaching as the necessities of the State require; it must provide an adequate supply of clergymen, whose instructions will be politically safe, must place them where they are needed, and

furnish them with the means of subsistence; and as preaching to empty seats will not make the citizens religious, it must secure the necessary attendance upon the instructions which it provides. If all this is done voluntarily—if a sufficient number of men will become such preachers, of their own accord, and if the people will hear them and support them of their own accord, very well. The State in that case need not use its power. Still, even then, the State must keep an eye on the subject; must know whether these things are done to such extent as its necessities require, and if there is any deficiency, must use its strong arm to supply it. Are we ready for this? Shall we act on principles which inevitably conduct us to such a result?

This reasoning has not been invented just to serve as a scarecrow on the present occasion. Read the arguments of Dr. Chalmers in favor of an established church. Read the arguments of any English high-churchman on the same subject. Read the report of Victor Cousin on Education in Prussia. Read what has been written by any able advocate for the union of Church and State. You will find this principle,—that the State must, for its own safety, secure the religious instruction of the people,—distinctly announced, and made the basis of all their reasonings. In the writings of those of them who mention this country, you will find the neglect of this principle charged upon us, as the fundamental error of our institutions—as the great political blunder which must, sooner or later, work our ruin. From this principle they infer the necessity of an established religion—of a clergy provided, commissioned and supported by the State. And their logic is without fault. Only grant them this principle, and there is no possibility of avoiding their conclusion. We must give up that principle or consent to have a Church established by law, the ally and servant of the State.

The principle is false. The people should give character to the State, and not the State to the people. Such is the fundamental idea of American Republicanism. With us, the State exists for the people, and not the people for the State. The people are to make the State what they think it should be, and not to be made by the State into what the State would have them. In the heathen republics of antiquity, and the infidel republic of France, the individual citizen was not recognized as having any interests too sacred for the State to interfere with. Of course the despotism of the majority was absolute and unlimited. The citizen had no rights which it might not invade—not even the right of thinking his own thoughts and forming his own character. He must think and be just what the State demanded of its citizens. The Spartan system of education by the State, accord-

ing to which every child was to be taken in infancy, and made into just such a thing as the State supposed itself to need, was only the thorough carrying out of this idea. But Christianity has taught us that the individual has interests which are spiritual and eternal, and are therefore more sacred than any interests of the State, which are only temporal; that the individual is directly responsible to his Maker for his religious character, and the State cannot relieve him of that responsibility, and may not interfere with it. On our theory, mind is free; the right of private opinion is sacred; and public opinion may not, in any way, prescribe to the individual what he is to think. The State, therefore, cannot take the formation of religious character into its hands. It must leave that duty to those whom God will, in the end, hold responsible for its performance; that is, to the citizens as individuals. It is not true that the State has a right to do, or to secure the doing of, whatever is indispensable to its own safety. It must, at whatever hazard, respect the inalienable rights of the individual citizens. The State must consent to be dependent on them for its safety; to rely on them, as individuals, for the performance of duties, without the performance of which its ruin is inevitable. It must rely on the people to give religion that prevalence which the safety of the State requires. It must rely on the people to do this, not acting as a whole, through the State as their instrument, and thus taking away the rights of individuals; but on the people, acting as individuals, or in such associations as they think it their duty to form for that purpose. True, the citizens may neglect their duty, and the State be ruined. But exemption from danger is not to be expected. Every State is always in some degree of danger, and always must be; and all experience proves that the danger is quite as little on our system as on any other; that where the care of religion is left to the people, it is quite as efficiently promoted as when the State undertakes to secure its prevalence. Those who call our Government *infidel*, because it so sacredly regards the Christian rights of every citizen, wholly misunderstand the matter.

As, then, the State is not bound to teach religion at all, it is under no necessity of teaching it in the form in which it is held by some sect, or number of sects; it need not establish or maintain sectarian schools. It can do all its appropriate work without them.

Still, no reason appears from anything that has been said, why the State should refuse to teach any important and universally admitted truth. It may teach the universally admitted rules of moral conduct and principles of moral obligation. By doing this, it invades no man's liberty—it interferes with the exercise of no

man's rights. It does for each man's children only what he himself believes ought to be done. Nor is the State obliged to fix very definite boundaries, applicable to all its schools, between what may be taught in them and what may not. It may safely leave something to the free working of public sentiment in different parts of its territory, and may lawfully presume that no injury is done where no one complains. If the people of a certain district employ a religious teacher, and are satisfied with his management of their school, and no remonstrance is heard from any quarter, the State may lawfully presume that all is right. Nor is it a duty to heed every murmur of the vicious. The teacher of a school in any part of Orange street might inculcate all the duties growing out of the seventh and eighth commandments, however some of the inhabitants might dislike them. Complaints and remonstrances that evidently grow out of the love of crime, are themselves immoral, and the State is not bound to heed them. It need regard only such remonstrances as may possibly be conscientious.

This indulgence, however, does not extend to sectarian schools. They are established for the very purpose of teaching the peculiarities of some sect; and there is no peculiarity of any sect, against which some one has not conscientious objections; none, for the teaching of which some honest men are not conscientiously unwilling to pay their money. The State cannot presume that there is no honest objection against them. They are instituted on purpose to teach that against which every one knows there are objections. They are established because what they are to teach is objected against, and cannot be taught in the public schools. By declaring themselves sectarian, they declare themselves to be such as the State ought not to support.

SECTARIAN SCHOOLS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 13, 1841.]

Since the publication of our former remarks on this subject, a decision has been had in the Board of Aldermen on the application of the Catholics for a separate common-school money. As was anticipated, the Board decided against the application almost unanimously. It might therefore seem useless to continue our remarks; but we had and have other aims than merely to influence the decision of the Common Council. We wish to dissipate, so far as in us lies, the fog which has been thrown around the subject, under pretext of a special regard for religion and a special

horror of infidelity. We trust we are not behind the Catholics in both these respects, according to our ideas of religion and infidelity, but we hold that there are other and better ways of promoting the one and avoiding the other, than by a union of Church and State. This latter expedient has been thoroughly tried in the old world, and has essentially failed. In this country a different system has been tried, and the results, thus far, have been most cheering.

Some maintain that sectarian schools must exist, because, they say, all others are virtually infidel schools. They say, religion cannot be taught except in some particular form; that the adherents of any particular form are a sect; that to exclude everything sectarian from our schools is to exclude religion in every particular form in which it exists; and that this makes them infidel schools. Hence it is argued that sectarian schools ought to exist; and the argument, if carried out, would lead to the conclusion that none others ought to exist, and that the State should bestow its whole patronage on sectarian schools.

But if this argument is sound, how shall we avoid the reproach of having infidel schools? By choosing some one sect, or two or three sects, whose doctrines are to be taught in school, as the State religion? We never shall agree to that. Shall the State put all sects on a level, and support them all alike? What must be the influence of a decision, by the authority of the State, that all sects are equally worthy of its patronage—that the religion of one sect is just as good as that of another? Evidently, to beget contempt for all the peculiar doctrines of Christianity. What is the language of such a decision to all who attend school? "Children," it says, "you must have some religious belief. You must believe that the wicked will be punished after death eternally, or that they will not be punished at all; but it is of no importance which of the two you believe. You must believe that the Pope is Christ's Vicar, or that he is Anti-Christ, no matter which." It would teach children to regard all religious doctrines with perfect indifference. It would teach them to believe that no doctrine has any better claim to be regarded as truth, or as important to their temporal or eternal welfare, than its opposite. It would teach them to condemn all decided preference for one doctrine over another, as mere bigotry. In short, it would teach an infidelity just like that of some French statesmen of the present day, who have no faith in Christianity as a system of truth, but who wish to have it taught, because the good of the State requires that the people should have some religion.

The State may with propriety decide that the members of all sects have equal civil rights, and shall enjoy equal political privi-

leges; but it has no right to decide the question, whether the religion of one sect is just as good as that of another. It must leave the question of the truth and comparative value of different creeds, wholly untouched; for it may not give one the preference over others; and by deciding that all are equally good and true, it teaches infidelity. A school system which teaches the doctrines of all sects indifferently, is an infidel school system, and its infidel influence will inevitably be felt in every school where the system is understood. They will all be infidel schools, though in half of them the Assembly's Catechism itself be committed to memory by every child that attends; for the system teaches that other children are learning opposite doctrines, which are just as good. The reproach of infidelity is incurred, and not avoided, by deciding that all creeds are worthy to stand on a level with each other.

But it is not true that schools in which no religion is taught are of course infidel schools. A school may be established for teaching a particular branch of education, and may, without exposing itself to any just reproach, confine itself to the object for which it was established. A writing-school indicates no error concerning arithmetic, grammar or geography, by confining itself to instruction in penmanship. Nor does a school instituted expressly for teaching these four studies, and these only, teach any error in astronomy by omitting all mention of that science. Nor does a school, instituted by the State for the express purpose of teaching certain rudiments of secular learning, teach its pupils any error concerning religion, by merely confining itself to its own business.

With us, public schools are not, and cannot be, places for complete education; and they ought not to be anywhere. It ought to be understood, that the whole work of forming the character is not committed to the schoolmaster. There is something which the parent must do personally, or he cannot be innocent. There is a part in the work, which belongs to the pastor, and which he must perform himself, or be to blame. It is very true, that many parents, from indolence, or distaste for religious duties, and from other motives, wish to throw their burden on the schoolmaster; but it ought not to be done. It is true, too, that some pastors would be glad to have the schoolmaster perform a part of their duties; but they have no right to be gratified. In the proper division of the labor of education, the formation of religious character falls to parents and pastors; and the State system of education should not be reproached with infidelity, because it leaves their work for them to do. If they need aid in the performance of their duty, the Sabbath-school is at their command; and if that is not sufficient, other means may be devised, to whatever extent

the necessities of faithful and industrious parents and pastors can require.

Let it be understood, then, that our public schools are not intended and do not profess to give a complete education; that they undertake only to give instruction in certain departments, and leave other departments to those whose duty it is to attend to them. Such an arrangement, well understood and adhered to, will teach no error, will exert no irreligious influence. Nothing about it even implies that religion is unimportant, or that children are to be brought up in ignorance of its doctrines and duties.

But, if the formation of religious character is thus left to the voluntary labors of the people,—of the churches, the pastors, the parents,—will it not be neglected? Doubtless it will, to some extent; and the result, to the same extent, will be evil. But that evil seems to be unavoidable, so long as men are found who neglect their duty. No experience of any nation warrants us to expect, that teaching religion by law would at all diminish it. Greater faithfulness in parents, pastors and churches seems to be the only remedy. It is very natural for the Church to be afraid of hard work, and to wish to finish off some difficult labor at once and effectually, by calling in the strong arm of the State. The experiment has often been tried; but neither the Church nor the world has ever been the better for it. If the Church will not do its own work, it must remain undone, and both the Church and the world must take the consequences.

But this same sophism will show itself and must be met in another shape. It will be said that Christianity requires every man to act the Christian in every employment and relation of life,—in teaching school, as well as in everything else; and that to act otherwise is practical infidelity. Very true; but what is the proper inference? Men must act like Christians in building steamboats, making shoes, grinding scythes, and mending pens; and we must remember, there is no such thing, actually existing, as Christianity in general, not in the form of some sect. How is this demand of duty to be met? How are men to perform all these duties like Christians? Must they all be done in sectarian establishments? Certainly not. Men can act from Christian motives, on Christian principles, and with a Christian spirit, in the performance of any duty whatever, though they neither sail in sectarian ships, work in sectarian shops, nor teach sectarian schools. Nor can even an apparent neglect of Christian duty be justly charged upon them because, in each of the relations of life, they attend to its appropriate duties, and leave the appropriate duties of others for others to perform.

This Protean sophism takes still another form. It is said that

all education which is not based upon Christianity is infidel education. This is true in a certain sense; but not in a sense which proves the necessity of sectarian schools. That basis of education which Christianity must furnish need not be laid in public schools. It may be laid elsewhere, by the labors of the family, and of the Church.

What is meant by Christianity being the basis of education? That it must be the basis of instruction in each branch of study? In what sense is it the basis of instruction in arithmetic? What are its bearings on the multiplication-table? What influence must Christianity exert, in order that the rule for extracting the square root may not be an infidel rule? A moment's consideration may convince any one, that Christianity has nothing to do with arithmetic, except to dictate the motives and temper with which it should be studied, and the uses to which it should be applied. And so of the studies of our public schools generally. Christianity, from the nature of the subject, cannot be the basis of that part of education, except as it is the basis of the character with which it should be acquired and used. Those studies are in no sense inferences from Christianity, or from any of its doctrines. It is as absurd to say that they are invested with an infidel character if Christianity is not taught in the same school-room, as it would be to say that arithmetic is made ungrammatical, by teaching it and grammar in separate rooms. Christianity should certainly be the basis of the plan which every man forms for the education of his children, and of the character which every system of education aims to produce; but it is not, it cannot be, the basis of each branch of instruction, in such a sense as makes it necessary that they should all be taught in the same school.

Turn the subject which way we will, it is not necessary that every school should be either sectarian or infidel. We are not shut up to any such alternative. Sectarian schools may be very convenient and very proper in some circumstances. It may sometimes be best that private schools, whose pupils are removed from parental oversight, should be of that character. But there is no necessity that they should form a part or the whole of a system of means provided and sustained by the State for the instruction of all its citizens. The State can do all its appropriate work without them; and if parents, pastors, and churches, also do theirs, the whole work of education will be done.

SECTARIAN SCHOOLS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 18, 1841.]

The objections against sectarian schools being supported by the State have been partly anticipated in our former remarks; but they deserve a separate consideration.

If the State engages in this work at all, it must either make a selection among sects, and support the schools of some and not of others, or it must support the schools of all sects. The former will never do. It would be the establishment of a State religion. The legislators who should begin the work would be put out of office at the next election, and their work would be undone with all possible haste. Supporting the schools of all sects,—as has been shown already,—would be a measure of infidel tendency. It would teach children, that, of the contradictory doctrines of different sects, one is no better entitled to our regard than another. It would teach them to regard all forms of religion, as the State regards them,—with equal indifference. Placing all creeds on a level, when they cannot all be true, is virtually saying that none of them are entitled to be received as truth, or that truth, on this subject, is unimportant. If the State supports sectarian schools, this bad influence is unavoidable.

Another evil would be the needless and hurtful multiplication of schools. Men born and bred in cities can but partially understand the force of this argument; but in the agricultural regions, which in fact constitute nearly the whole of every State in the Union, except perhaps in Rhode Island, the evil would be absolutely intolerable. In every neighborhood there must be as many schools as there are sects. School districts must be of such moderate extent, that a child can, without hardship, walk twice a day from the circumference to the center. They can seldom contain one hundred scholars, and often not more than twenty-five. For these, there must be two, three, four or more schools, according to the number of sects into which the parents happen to be divided. How are they all to be supported? Evidently, the requisite amount of funds cannot be obtained; and instead of one good school, sufficient for the wants of all, kept during the whole or nearly the whole year, each sect will have a cheap and nearly worthless school, for only a few weeks in a year.

It is of no use to say that this universal division of schools need not be. It is one of those things which, though apparently they need not be, certainly will be. If the State supports the schools of one sect, another will make the demand, and it must

be granted. Another, and another, and finally all, will follow the example. If the plan begins in the cities, it must soon be extended to the larger villages, and then to the smaller, and then to the farming districts. There is no stopping-place, anywhere betwixt the beginning and the end.

Nor let it be said that some sects resemble each other so closely that they need not have separate schools. In their own view, their differences are such as to demand distinct ecclesiastical organizations and expensive arrangements for worship. They think their differences important, and will not consent that the State should judge of their importance. If some sects receive the aid of the State in propagating their peculiarities by means of schools, others will demand it, and must have it. There can be no peace, till there are in each school district as many schools as there are sects among its inhabitants. This point has already received a partial illustration. The Roman Catholics argue, that they differ so much from the Protestants, that they must have separate schools; while the Protestants are so much alike, that they can all use the same schools. But who shall be the judge in this matter? If they are allowed to decide whether their own peculiarities are important enough to justify separate schools, every Protestant sect must be allowed the same privilege, and, in the use of it, will demand schools of its own.

Another evil would be the increase of sectarian hostility. This, too, would be felt most powerfully in the agricultural districts and smaller villages, which, be it remembered, contain almost the whole people. In each of those districts, each sect would be anxious to have as large a school as possible, and therefore as many adherents in the district as possible. Hence efforts at proselytism would be vigorous and persevering. In such small communities, the transfer of a single man from one party to another would be an event of great relative importance, and would excite deep and strong feeling. The change of sentiment in a single tax-payer would sensibly affect the pocket of every one, both of his old and his new associates. Every member of every sect would be stimulated to make proselytes, by his conscientious preference for what he regards as truth; by his love of victory; by his regard for his own purse, and desire of help in meeting expenses, and by his desire to retaliate on rivals, who, he supposes, resort to unfair means of gaining advantages. The compound would make a most unlovely spirit, while the conscientiousness would sanctify it in the eyes of him who was governed by it. And there would be at least an annual struggle of the sects, to get the names, the influence and the pecuniary aid

of those who belong to no sect; and of those, many would become violent partisans, without a particle of religious principle.

Each sect, too, would wish to have as many schools as possible; and the leaders of each would be laying and executing plans for the establishment of schools in all the districts in the land. Each supreme dignitary or central board would be sending out appeals, stating that "there are so many districts in which *we* have no schools;" that "in such, and such, and such a place, there are a few members of our church, who, with a little aid from their more favored brethren, might sustain schools;" and reports from traveling agents, telling in what places they had excited a desire, or a desire might be easily excited, "for schools of our order." The reader, if he can bear the sight, may finish the picture for himself.

This last mentioned evil would be aggravated by another,—the introduction of sectarianism into politics; the transformation of the various sects into so many political factions, each plotting for the promotion of its own interests at elections and in legislation, and all bargaining with each other and with politicians for the accomplishment of favorite objects. This will be inevitable, if the several sects, as such, are to receive money from the State. The thought has already been conceived, and the beginning has been made. The Propaganda Society of Lyons, in their "Annals" lately published, say of the Roman Catholics in the United States: "Their union secures for them an infallible preponderance, in the midst of the perpetual divisions of heretical opinions. In the Atlantic States, they form a powerful minority. In the greater part of the Western States, they form a plurality, and at some points perhaps a majority of the inhabitants." Those who talk thus of "infallible preponderance," secured by united and powerful minorities, pluralities and majorities, are certainly thinking of votes, of elections, of legislation, of acting a part in politics. Wherever the thought may have originated, the Roman Catholic leaders in New York have declared themselves ready to act according to it. They have offered the votes of their sect to any political party that will give them what they call "justice." If they succeed, some other sect will follow their example; and the further it goes, the more others will feel themselves compelled to adopt the same course in self-defense; and, in the end, the various sects will become so many political factions. If there is any sect whose religious purity will not be injured by such a change, it must be some one which has very little purity to be injured.

Nor is this all, or the worst of it. After the spirit of sectarianism has been thus stimulated to a preternatural and malignant

activity, and then poisoned by its alliance with politics, the children of every sect are to be inoculated with it in infancy, and its growth is to be effectually nurtured by their education in sectarian schools. People need not hope that the sectarianism of a generation thus trained will be like that which they now witness. Commencing before the understanding is developed, and before any reason for it can be comprehended; fostered by every opportunity of childish emulation or antagonism between the members of rival schools; embittered, first by sympathizing with the participation of their parents, and afterward by their own participation, in every proselyting effort and every local election; kept alive and increased by the constant necessity of guarding against the political and other machinations of rival sects; it must be a sectarianism of such malignity as no example has yet enabled the people of this country to understand; and it will be well if the politico-religious factions thus formed abstain from shedding each other's blood.

Finally, no system of sectarian schools can be made to reach the whole population of the State. Many families live surrounded by families of other sects, to whom they cannot conscientiously intrust the education of their children. Multitudes belong to no sect; and a large part of them will obstinately refuse to place their children in sectarian schools. The geographical system, of dividing the whole State into districts, with a school in each, must be given up; for the sects will supersede it so extensively, that the remnant will not be worth preserving. And when the geographical system is abandoned, there will be no security for the existence of schools in all places where they are needed. Numerous tracts of country may then be left without schools, and nobody will be held responsible for the deficiency. The result will be, a numerous population whom the sectarian system will fail to reach, growing up uneducated, and unfit to be free citizens of a free republic. The State cannot secure that universal diffusion of intelligence which its own safety requires, except by adhering to the geographical system.

And here the argument might close; but it seems advisable to notice two pleas in favor of the present Roman Catholic claim. It is said that they pay their proportion into the school fund, and have a right to an equivalent. Very true; and they have an equivalent. While they remain in this country, they cannot escape having an equivalent. The privilege of living in an educated community is worth, many times over, all that they pay. But this is not all. The schools are open for them, as well as for others. A full equivalent for their money is tendered to them in this form also; and if they refuse to accept it, still

the State has done its duty. It confers on them one benefit, worth far more than their money, and lays another at their door, which they may use if they please; and by this, the demands of justice are fully satisfied.

The other argument is, that the consciences of the Roman Catholics require them to have sectarian schools, and we ought to accommodate our institutions to their consciences. The answer is easy. Their consciences are already accommodated, as far as they can reasonably ask to be. They are at perfect liberty to establish as many sectarian schools, and support them as abundantly, and patronize them as exclusively, as their consciences require. Not the least impediment is thrown in their way. The law even protects them in all their lawful measures for this purpose; defends them against all opposition by force or fraud; protects their school-houses, and other property; enforces the fulfillment of contracts; renders them all the aid it renders any man in any lawful business. And with this they ought to be content. But, it seems, their consciences go beyond all this, and demand an appropriation from the State Treasury, in support of their schools. They demand the commencement of a series of changes that would destroy our school system, and substitute for it, one according to their mind. This we cannot concede. We cannot undertake to gratify all consciences,—especially while they contradict each other. What if Protestant consciences, twenty times as numerous and quite as honest and well informed, demand the unbroken preservation of our district school system, and entire abstinence, by the State, from the sectarian? How are both to be gratified at once? There are those in the world—and if we will publicly engage to change our laws and institutions as their consciences require, they will soon be plenty among us,—whose consciences demand an hereditary monarchy, with absolute power, a censorship of the press, the universal collection of tithes, the suppression of heresy by pains and penalties, and the exemption of clergy from arrest and trial by the civil government for any crime. Shall we announce that if they will come among us, all things shall be arranged as their consciences require?

We have formed free institutions, and a system of schools as an important means of sustaining them. People of any country, and of any sect, are welcome to come among us and enjoy the benefit of them; but we cannot give them up to gratify those who like something else better. We allow and secure perfect liberty of conscience to every man whose conscience will be content with its proper employment, regulating the conduct of its owner. But if consciences will go beyond their proper sphere,

and demand the surrender of any of our free institutions, or the destruction or derangement of any of our means of sustaining them, we cannot gratify such consciences. If any man's religion debars him from enjoying any of the privileges which our country offers freely to all, it is his misfortune, or his happiness, according as his religion is right or wrong; but we cannot afford to destroy any of those privileges, to gratify the few who deem it unlawful to use them. We must keep up our system of public schools which are not sectarian, for the benefit of all, leaving those who think they know a better way, at perfect liberty to walk in it, which is all that they can reasonably ask. If any man's religion subjects him to peculiar expenses, that too is his misfortune,—or a peculiar favor of Providence, as the case may be. It is an affair between him and his Maker, and not between him and the State; and we cannot remove or weaken any of the supports of freedom, for the sake of reducing his religious expenses to an equality with those of other men.

THE CATHOLICS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, February* 13, 1841.]

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We have no fears that Romanism will subjugate this free country, assisted though it be, by all the powers of the Leopold Foundation. But we know that if Americans were to allow themselves to be seduced by promises or awed by threats, our liberties would soon be gone; and here we shall take the liberty to say, that the conduct of the priests and leading men, in holding Irish Catholic meetings for the purpose of subverting the institutions of this country and getting possession of its school funds, is impudence of no ordinary cast, and shows that something has stultified their perceptions. What scorn would Americans justly bring upon themselves, were they to make such attempts upon the monasteries of Spain, or the domestic institutions of any other country of Europe! What scorn, if, instead of sending Missionaries unarmed to teach justice and temperance from the Bible, they should send their ships-of-war to force Protestantism and brandy on the heathen at the cannon's mouth! But we say to our friend, the Irish American citizen, and all his bishops, go a-head. Share to the full in our liberty, and the protection of our good laws. Our alms-houses and the charity of private Protestants will make up what you leave undone for the wants of your swarms of ignorant and vicious poor. Our school-

house doors shall be open to their children, free of expense, and to please you, all the books shall be expurgated, except the Bible. One party or the other will pay the naturalization fee of all your countrymen who desire it, and after having sworn allegiance here, then agitate the Irish repeal and the New York school-fund as much as you please. Americans have most of them two eyes and two hands, and a heart a-piece, and we all intend to be about here for some years to come.

PURGATORY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 6, 1841.]

It seems that Joe Smith has put purgatory into the list of his superstitions. He has also fixed an easy way to get people out of that difficulty, and he does right; for the bright idea of the whole matter is just that very thing of getting them out. There is very little money to be made by a place of *eternal* punishment, but a place which people can be helped out of by their friends who are left behind,—*that* has yielded a larger revenue to the priests, than any other religious doctrine in the world. The Mormon doctrine is, that any man to whom the magnetic cord of mysterious influence has been passed down by regular succession, not from Peter, but from Joe Smith, may baptize a friend of the departed heretic in the name of the heretic, and that substitution is all the same as if the heretic had been himself baptized, and he is by his proxy thereupon brought into the true Church of the Latter Day Saints, and so of course is at once out of all difficulty. For this good purpose two old soldiers have recently been baptized in Illinois by a Mormon elder, one by the name and on behalf of George Washington, and one by the name and on behalf of William Henry Harrison. This plan of competition by the Mormons must be dangerous to the Roman priests, for it operates quicker, and is cheaper than masses, and *just as good exactly*.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, October* 30, 1841.]

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But that which interests a very large and substantial part of our citizens, more than all other questions before the public, is the attack which the Catholic priests have made on our public schools. The schools of this city are its glory and its hope.

They are of the very first order of usefulness. They are purely literary institutions, except that the Bible, the common book of all Christians, is read once a day. The school-books have been expurgated by all the various religious sects until there is nothing left which any one complains of. The schools are located conveniently in all parts of the city, and act upon a common plan; so that when a child goes from one to another, he finds in his new school the same books, rules and regulations, to which he had become accustomed.

These schools are open without expense, even for books, to all the children of the city. The foreigner, as soon as he arrives in the city, can send his family to as good schools as the world affords, without money and without price. But the Catholic priests are not willing to have the children of their people attend these schools, and the Bishop of Basileopolis has accordingly led off in a grand crusade against them. The great and only material complaint is, that the Bible is read in these schools. This, according to the Bishop, renders them sectarian; which prevents his people from attending them, and so deprives them of their rights. If the Bible could only be read with the Notes of the Romish Church, that would cure the matter of its sectarianism, in the Bishop's opinion. So if the Bishop should take it into his head that there should be a cross painted over the Speaker's chair in the Assembly Room, at Albany, or erected at the top of the cupola of that building, he would then be able to show that the plain walls and plain cupola were so sectarian that Catholics were deprived of their privilege of serving in the Legislature,—that of course the right of suffrage was useless,—and that all the Catholics in the State were disfranchised. The very modest claim of the Catholics is just this, that the schools shall be made Roman Catholic schools, or else the Roman Catholics will be "deemed and taken" to be most wickedly deprived of their rights.

The real question as to the schools is one vital to our institutions. None but a Roman Catholic would have had the effrontery, or even the thought of making such an issue. The question is simply whether our schools shall be public and free to all, or turned into subserviency to a foreign sect, whose principles are at war with the whole fabric of our institutions. The difficulty with the Bishop is really not so much that a chapter in the Bible is read in the morning,—though that is a great Americanism; for the Bible is the only book of liberty,—but the grand difficulty is, that Catholic children who go about, slipping beads, crossing themselves, and so much afraid of their priests, that they dare not think without permission, do, by associating with American

boys, learn to hold up their heads, think for themselves, count their rights instead of their beads, and throw off the priestcraft which holds them in base subjection. Thus the boys turn Americans, and the Bishop loses his sheep, or as the French parson said, his "dear moutons."

THE POOR POPE.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, October* 8, 1842.]

Popery seems to be acting with considerable vigor in its extremities. In the Sandwich Islands its priests are thick on all the islands, doing what they can to counteract the labors of Protestant missionaries, who first raised there the standard of the Cross, surrounded by books and schools. In this country the Papists seem to think that popery and liberty are here to find a safe retreat from the dangers of the old world. Here popery is sought to be sustained even by such desperate measures as the establishment of schools, the publication of newspapers, and the submission of questions for decision to the people! This process will bleach the Ethiopian's skin and take out the leopard's spots. Yet, it is going on in spite of the protestations of the Pope against "the most pestilent impudence" of publishing books. Poor old man! his secular power is circumscribed to a small territory, the revenues of which are insufficient for any important purpose, and he has not credit enough to borrow. His own people, too, especially the middle classes, inoculated with the pestilent epidemic of the times, are itching for knowledge, and sending to the Protestant portions of Europe and to free America for books—books—and reading with the avidity with which a starving man eats. The authority of the Pope will soon be confined to spiritual matters, and in this he will be obliged ere long to acknowledge that every man is a pope, and consent to govern in accordance with the opinions of the masses. The day of investigation has risen upon the world, and it will be a long day.

PROSPECTS OF POPERY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, February* 7, 1843.]

As to the old Pope, it is best to watch him, and give him hard blows, if, forgetful of where he is, he seeks to play his pranks here as he has done in Europe. But if, afflicted with the rebellion

of his children on the other side of the Atlantic, he stretches his aged eyes to this free country, and hopes here to head off and turn back the reformation, let him take what comfort he can in his dreamy fancy. So if the icebergs of the North find themselves hot pressed by the returning lord of the summer, and imagine that they can better sustain their power by removing to the equator, let them do so. All that the equatorial regions need to care for is, that no clouds obscure the sun. Popery is in more trouble here than is generally supposed. Doubtless there are vast importations of the article, of the very strongest quality; and large sums of money are sent over from Europe to bring us back to the holy harlot mother; but the work of conversion, so far as our observation extends, goes on but slowly. After all the foreign remittances, the Catholic churches, at least in this city, are deeply in debt. Bishop Hughes stated, not long ago, that in the aggregate they were in debt to the full value of the property; and in our opinion, that was a very moderate estimate. The priests have persuaded the faithful servant girls and servant men to take their savings from the savings-banks and loan them to build churches. If we understand the matter, the church in James street, and that in Chambers street, have many of these persons knocking at their doors, and knocking hard for the payment of bonds, but with very little success. But these are minor matters. The Irish Catholics come here to be free; they are great democrats, and their priests are obliged to be democrats, too. They are forever talking of liberty and personal rights, and the Constitution, and the laws. After all this outcry for liberty, it is not so easy to obliterate all personal rights, and bring the people back to abjectness. It is a great embarrassment that the Head of the Church is a foreign prince. A still greater difficulty is the necessity which the priests find themselves under of defending themselves by means of a public press. There is nothing which the present Pope counts so "pestilent" as this boundless liberty of printing. Heretofore Rome has shut up argument in dungeons; but she has been obliged to answer argument by argument here, and that before the tribunal of the people. She is drawn to the press for defense, and there the worst features of the system her priests have never dared to defend, or even to confess. There is nothing which can inflict so deadly a wound on the beast as a goose-quill. Another difficulty is, that in order to preserve Catholics from straying away from the faith, their fears have constantly to be appealed to, and with a degree of severity which is dangerous to those who apply it. Catholics would send their children to the public schools and the Sunday-schools; they would go to Protestant churches and to the devotions of Protestant families, but for *fear* of the priests

at the confessional. People do not like such a government, and it must always be a dangerous resort where there is really no power to enforce the threatened penalties. In the various documents which we have published, there is abundant proof that the fires of discord which rage in the bosom of the Mother Church are of the hottest sort. There is no Protestant denomination in the United States which would think of using such language towards its clergy as that which was used by the wardens of St. Louis' Church at New Orleans, or the people of St. Joseph's and the Harlem Church here. The unity of the Romish Church has generally been little else than outside talk. The daring of Bishop England and Bishop Hughes has induced them to attempt to do great things, but they have only got into scrapes and disaffected their people. The truth is, Romanism in the United States can neither sit still nor stir about. So far as we are acquainted, the conversions from Popery are much more numerous than the conversions to it. In fact, such is the peculiar character of its adherents that they must be scattered and mixed up with Protestants in such a manner that it is more than the wit of the priesthood can do, to preserve them from becoming intelligent and independent. As a matter of fact, we know that, to a great extent, the Irish, particularly the men, after they have lived here ten years, will not pay half so much to the priests as when they first arrive. The number of Catholics is increasing, but in a smaller ratio than Protestants. In 1807, William Wirt, in a letter to a young student in Kentucky, wrote, "the constant intercourse between Kentucky and the Spanish settlements will make it necessary that you should be well acquainted with that language." It is hardly possible to believe that such a sentiment should have been true so recently. Where are now those settlements of Spanish Catholics? Swept away by the waves of Protestant emigration. Where are the Catholics who were born in this country? Look at the multitudes who pour out of St. Peter's, and listen to their conversation. They have almost all of them foreign faces and a foreign brogue. The grand difficulty which prevents Catholics from being more rapidly transformed into independent American citizens is, the oppressions which Protestantism has practiced upon them in their native land. They have been goaded to exasperation by the tyranny of the Established Church of England. They come here thinking very naturally that all Protestants are such unjust oppressors. Then here and elsewhere they have been charged at random with a great many things which were untrue, and others which they thought untrue. Let us teach them a new lesson; and while we reprove the arrogance and tyranny of their priests, as we would reprove the same things in

any other men, let us teach them that Protestants are as liberal as they are free; that they have imbibed the benevolent spirit of Jesus Christ, and that they rely on truth alone to uphold their opinions. Then, although the Roman Catholic Church may remain as a distinct denomination, its members will be intelligent and free Americans, and no more dangerous than the adherents of other denominations.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 8, 1843.]

PROPOSED CATHOLIC REFORMS.

We do Bishop Hughes the justice to publish the report of the mixed committee appointed under his auspices to investigate the burning of the Bibles at Corbu, Clinton county, N. Y. It shows that Catholic priests have learned something by residing in this country, and that a green one from France is liable to make great mistakes by behaving here just as he would at home. Certainly the American Catholic priests have done right in this matter, and we trust that now the Rev. Father O'Reilley, who assailed us so furiously for stating the case at first, will do us justice, and confess that it is possible for a heretical layman to be in the right, and a priest of the Church in the wrong, especially where facts are to be investigated before the whole people, and not within the thick walls of the Inquisition. There are a few more bad practices of the Romish priests which, as friends, we tell them cannot be maintained here, and had better be disavowed at once. One of them is the requiring of the poor Catholics to surrender the Bibles which have been given them, to be destroyed *privately*. You cannot keep people from reading and thinking, in this country. Another thing which is exceedingly unpopular, is the espionage which is exercised in families, and the prohibition to servants, of uniting in family devotions. Another thing is, taking money for praying souls out of purgatory. Praying souls out of purgatory is all a humbug to raise money; and the people know too much to sustain it much longer in this country. Auricular confession will go by and by, and then, by purging the priesthood of dissolute men, making a Head to the Church in the United States, and adopting the Bible as the rule of faith, Romanism will stand some chance of success among us. Luckily you never did here sell indulgences to eat meat on Friday, for three shillings a-piece, as is done now in South America, and so *that* is not to be relinquished. But Popery must be modernized if it is to succeed here. We trust that Bishop Hughes will be able to convince his

Holiness of the expediency of burning no more Bibles in the United States, and of hereafter introducing French priests by way of New York, and not by Montreal; and that he will also be able to procure from the Pope a dispensation in favor of the improvements which we have suggested. If he finds any difficulty in accomplishing so desirable an end, we shall be happy to supply him gratuitously with "Facts and Reasonings on Church Governments," which we are sure must convince all the Vatican that the mode of doing things in this country is very different from what it was in Rome during the Middle Ages, or is even now.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, September* 22, 1843.]

REBELLIOUS CATHOLICS.

The New Orleans papers contain paragraphs the substance of which is, that recently a lodge of Free Masons have laid the foundation-stone of a tomb, in the cemetery attached to the Cathedral, whose wardens have heretofore shown so much disposition to pin their faith on their own sleeve, especially as to secular matters; that the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese sent, through the Rector of the Church, to inquire of the wardens why it was that they had so desecrated grounds consecrated to holy purposes; that the wardens replied that they considered the Bishop not a little insolent in making any such inquiry, and that all associations had at all times been privileged to erect tombs for their deceased members. So the Bishop was obliged to put this little matter in his pocket, and keep still; but if his soliloquy could have been overheard, it would probably have been, "I curse these infidel wardens with all the curses which ever issued from the throne of St. Peter at Rome; may their wives be unfaithful and their children disobedient; may their houses be burned up, and their goods rot on hand; may they have tic douloureux in their heads, gout in their toes, and rheumatism in all their bones; may——but what is the effect of all this? The wives of the accursed are as faithful, and their children as obedient, and their property as safe, and their persons as full of health, as if I had spoken nothing. Oh! that I had the powers of the Holy Inquisition here, as they are exercised among the faithful in the Old World. I would soon place these infamous rebels where it would be of little consequence to them how their families should behave, or what should become of their estates."

"CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY."

[*From the Journal of Commerce, March* 18, 1845.]

THIS was the simple and expressive motto upon the banner of the students of the Roman Catholic College at Georgetown as they walked in the inaugural procession. Do they mean the civil and religious liberty of Italy? That consists in the liberty to believe what the Church teaches, and obey what the Church commands. An Italian cannot discuss any public topic in assemblies, or in newspapers; he cannot print a book, nor have a book by virtue of any personal right to have it; he cannot have God's book at all, except by keeping it hid; he cannot pass from one place to another without leave; he cannot, even in private circles, express his opinions, if he has any, unless those opinions are approved by the government. His house is no castle for him, though it may be for the priest against him. Of liberty, such as the American constitutions proclaim and guarantee, he has none, either civil or religious.

Do they mean the privileges which American citizens, holding the Catholic faith, enjoy in this country? Civil liberty, to be sure, Protestantism has provided for them; but Romanism has repudiated that liberty. A Romanist even here has not the liberty to keep his or her own secrets, but must reveal them to the priest, with all matters of the family into which he chooses to pry. Catholic servants do not possess the liberty to attend family worship, with the Protestant families to which they belong. Congregations which build churches cannot control the appropriation of their revenues, nor even hold the title-deeds of the property. They cannot marry except within the circle prescribed by the priest; and if they have children, they cannot select the Sunday or day-school to which they shall be sent. We mean, that by the laws to which they subscribe, these rights are not acknowledged as belonging to them, by any personal and inherent claim, but are claimed to be controlled by the priest; and the only way in which these rights can be enjoyed, is by rebelling against Rome and taking shelter under Protestant laws. As to religious liberty, a Catholic has nothing which a Protestant would call liberty. He has no liberty of private judgment, for he must believe what the Church teaches. He cannot select his religious teachers; they are made for him and placed over him. His faith, his practice, his teachers, are all made for him according to the order of an old man at Rome, and other old and young priests, calling themselves the Church. He cannot choose his own food; for he must eat fish on every Friday, except by indulgence from the priest; *then he may eat meat.* For such

slaves to be carrying about the banner of "Civil and Religious Liberty," does but excite our pity. Would they could but once feel what liberty is. The sensation would make them leap for joy. Liberty to investigate where we please; to believe what we please, and to proclaim everywhere what we believe; to worship as we please, when we please, and with whom we please; to marry whom we love most, and educate our children in such ways and with such helps as we think best for them; to erect our "meeting-houses," and own them and manage them as we please; to study the Bible without note, comment or guidance, and judge for ourselves what our Father in Heaven says to his children; to live within a door which no man can open without our consent; to enjoy all these things and many more, and to enjoy them, not by the consent of a priest, but as personal rights, given to us by God, and made in us when He made us;—such a man has no need to carry "Civil and Religious Liberty" about, stuck upon a pole; for he is clothed by it, and filled with it, and exults in it. Such a man has use for a conscience and understanding and affections. He is God's freeman.

PROTECTION AGAINST CATHOLICS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 28, 1845.]

"How shall the Protestants of Ireland protect themselves against the Catholics?" is the title of an article which has lately appeared in England, and the question is one which is exciting deep interest there. The true answer is, allow them their rights; treat them fairly; make government a blessing, instead of a curse to them. Ireland has a right to hate Protestantism, for she sees it hardly ever except in the shape of an oppressor. Let Catholics be treated with a generosity which they never exercised. Do to them, not as they have always done to us, but as we would that they should do to us. Acknowledge them as fellow-citizens, entitled to think for themselves and adopt their own religious belief, without derogation from their civil rights. Take off the enormous injustice of tithes to support an establishment upon which they never attend. The bloody feuds of past days may not be instantly cured, but there is no other remedy, and the sooner this is applied the better. We must allow to others what we claim for ourselves. If we claim that civil penalties shall not fall on us because of our faith, we must allow the same thing to all other sects. If we claim the right to examine and determine

for ourselves, we must allow the same right to others. There is no doctrine so absurd that oppression cannot propagate it. There is no falsehood so entrenched, that truth and kindness cannot dislodge it. A government which is oppressive and unjust, ought to be resisted; one that is just will always find support. The Catholics of this country who have been here long enough to understand our institutions and their value to every citizen, are as good supporters of the government as other men. And as to the priests, judging from the claims which we see put forth by the clerical assemblies of other denominations, they are but little if any more hierarchical than their neighbors. Almost without exception the Protestant ministers claim the same divinity as distinguishing their business from all other business, which each so scornfully and so justly scouts in all the rest. Men are men, and nothing more nor less; and the different degrees of badness in governing systems, whether in Church or State, consist chiefly in their adaptation to develop the self-conceit, the arrogance and love of power, which dwell in all men, and in most of them are exceedingly rife and turbulent, if they have the power. The best remedy is the spirit of the Christian, accompanied by those great principles of political and religious equality which run through the New Testament, and are adopted in the glorious Constitution of our country. All men are equal in personal rights, when they are born, and ever afterward. Divine right belongs to man as made by his Creator, and ever after, when engaged in the performance of duty, and to nothing else. These principles of eternal truth, maintained and acted on, will make each man's rights clear, and public free discussion will array the masses against violence, and protect society under the benign regulation of just laws framed to promote the public good. Catholics and Protestants will then live securely and peacefully together.

A CHRISTMAS SERVICE.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 9, 1847.]

If our chief pastor will inquire about the flock, he will find that the mixed marriages, or something else, are producing a wandering disposition in the flock. A dozen or more have joined the new German Catholic Congregation since their public meeting, and many more are reading the Bible, and interpreting it for themselves. In fact, the Bishop and under-shepherds read the Bible, and take texts for sermons from that, and not from tradition. We had the privilege of listening on Christmas day to a

Bible sermon from the Bishop, at the Cathedral, most of which would have been approved in any New England pulpit. He quoted the Word of God as of authority, and there it lay before him, to guide him and all the people. It was a scene to excite deep reflection and ardent hope. That mortal sin for which so many thousands of Christ's disciples have been punished even to death, and with all imaginable cruelties, under the influence of the Romish hierarchy,—*that* sin the Bishop committed before the great congregation without fear; nay, he durst not fail to commit it. *He had the Bible in his possession, and he read it.* What crowds of Lollards were murdered and sent to heaven, even in Old England, and but a little while ago, for doing just what the Bishop did, and so recommended to all the people. We were glad to know that the Bishop would not be burned for his fault, nor even the Bible burned which he had been reading. It was gratifying to see also, that although the officiating priests in a long, unmeaning service before and after sermon, prayed in an unknown tongue, yet the faithful had their prayer-books in their various vernaculars, praying on their own account. There were some things done which were ridiculous enough, to be sure. Two Bishops and all the priests appeared in women's clothes, petticoats, vandykes, &c. The Bishop spoke in his sermon of Christianity as having elevated woman. Certainly in dress, it was evident it had placed her on a level with the Bishops. An hour before and after sermon were passed in pantomime. Four men with broad square gold blankets, richly colored, and decorated with pendent sleeves, fringes, &c., placed themselves in all possible relations to each other, bowing, prostrating themselves, putting on the assistant bishop's miter, and taking it off a dozen times. There were also some half dozen boys, in petticoats, with candles, and acting as waiters. One very grave operation was to take a richly-covered book from one place and put it in another, or hold an open one on the boys' heads, while a priest chanted from it, &c. Let no one say we ridicule the service. We only describe it, and if that is ridicule, the fault is in the facts, not the telling of them. All these things must pass away. Priests and bishops must appear in men's clothes, and other garments more fitted for the successors of fishermen, than the gorgeous and cumbrous trappings, with candles at noon-day, with which this ceremony was performed. A generation cannot grow up in America without demanding something more intellectual than such things. They might make the ignorance of past ages stare, and wonder, and obey, but they will produce no such effect now-a-days. On the whole, the service of the Cathedral was full of hope. Hope, chiefly for Catholics, who compose so large a portion of the civil-

ized world. A better day is before them,—is upon them. They are rapidly rising from superstition to faith; not that blind submission to dictation which is called faith, yet is unworthy of the name, but to an intelligent investigation of God's works and word, a clear comprehension of their own rights, obligations and privileges, and an operative, purifying, ennobling faith in all that is *proved to be true.*

THE CATHOLIC SERVICE.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 19, 1847.]

The Catholic Freeman's Journal has a very clever article commenting upon our account of the service at the Cathedral on Christmas day. The editor is triumphantly good-natured and veracious, though somewhat poetical, as he had a right to be. He is even quite gratified at our simple statement, and very kindly instructs us in some of the matters about which we were obliged to exhibit ignorance. He says that what we called broad gold blankets were "the cope, the chasuble and the dalmatics;" and that what we called a petticoat was "the alb, a white robe worn by those who officiate in the sanctuary, symbolical of the purity and innocence of life which should adorn those who minister to the Lord." *Should* adorn! Carefully said. We have read history until the last idea which any garment of that form upon a priest would convey to our mind would be that of purity. But it only emblems that which *ought* to be, and in the *right* Reverend wearer on Christmas day, *is*, we trust. But the impression of purity would rise much stronger in our mind, if these women's clothes were transferred to honorable wives. As to the other hard names, we shall never be able to recollect them, or, if we did, to know what they symbolize. Our friend does not explain them, only that "they are the mere outward forms," and have been the same from "the earliest periods of the Church." Earliest periods! Why, the man does not mean to say that those old Congregationalists Peter and John wore such things? They might have had blankets, but they were useful, comfortable garments,—not such clumsy, ill-setting things as these "gold blankets." The editor thinks us in so hopeful a way, that he declares—"We venture to say, judging from this and other evidence, that if Mr. Hale tries (which we hope he shall) but fifteen years more, he will be a Catholic." We thank him for his good wishes, and will cheer him in his hopes with the assurance that we will declare ourselves Catholics the moment we are convinced that Catholicity is truth.

But with our present feelings we should not consent to be candidates for petticoats. But we are ignorant yet, very ignorant. We call things by such names as we have been accustomed to give them. Our first great blunder in this way was in supposing that the sign put by the Bishop before his name was a dagger. It was what the printers always called a dagger, and so we supposed it was a dagger. We grew up in New England, where there are few symbols, and many realities. Few *symbols* of purity, and much real purity; few types and shadows, but much reality. Not so much piety of garments, but more, or at least quite as much, true piety. The ministers there, to be sure, once wore big wigs and three-cornered hats, clean bands, and sometimes a black college surplice. But those things have now almost entirely disappeared, and the clergy rely almost on their personal bearing and piety for their influence among the people. We may learn to get truth through symbols of doubtful significancy, but we have been so long accustomed to go right to it, and read it in the Bible, with no symbols between it and us, that at first this way, so old, but new to us, seems rather to embarrass the matter. But we must live and learn, and nobody can tell what fifteen years may not do. We should not be surprised to find ourselves much nearer to American Romanism then, than we are now. Certainly we are much nearer to it now than fifteen years ago. But as we said, we are ignorant yet. We do not know why Jesus Christ came into the world and gave himself a sacrifice on the Cross to establish a Church on *Peter*. We do not underderstand how the Church has been infallible when her councils have decreed so many different things. A passage in Bishop Hughes' sermon on Christmas troubled us just in this place. He said that Mary had been called the "Mother of God" until Nestorius (?) declared that it was improper to call her so. A great council was called, and the prelates from all parts of the empire were interrogated as to the opinion of the Church, through their dioceses. They declared that the sense was everywhere against Nestorius, and when this decision was proclaimed from the vast temple in which the council were assembled, the people rent the air with their joyful acclamations. We were obliged to perceive, through this symbol of public rejoicing, that there must have been some doubt how the council would decide, and that to produce such a doubt, there must have been a wide-spread difference of opinion; and the question would rise whether if the decision had been the other way, it would have been just as infallible. But the Bishop took it upon himself to say, that the appellation was given to Mary "not because she was mother of the divine nature, but because that nature was so united with the person of

her Son, as of that it was proper to use this language." It seemed to us, therefore, that there was nothing really, in the mighty question. All parties held the same opinion about the fact. The only question was about the *propriety of the words*, and that a Church which should make such a mighty movement about a matter of no real importance, must have been not merely fallible, but childish. We did not see Church Infallibity, any how, in these symbols.

But we have displayed enough of our ignorance for the present. If we were to say that we do not know how the succession is proved all the way down from the apostles, nor of what importance it could be if it were proved, it would only show how much more we have to learn in fifteen years. But fifteen years is a great while. In a very little of that time all the banks are to break, and nobody can say where we shall be after that. We hope to be where the Bible is, where people believe because things are proved, and not because they are *not* proved, or are even disproved, and where faith is not formal and ceremonial, but living and purifying. We should not think it very strange if all this should take place in the American Catholic Church.

PROTESTANT LIBERALITY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, March* 27, 1847.]

"In the midst of such scenes; of dreadful sufferings and of generous charity, it were strange if Protestantism of the true and genuine type should not show its hideous form. It has done so! In shame for our wretched humanity we would wish to be able to deny it. We would fain think that the serpents of the pit had assumed the empty form of Bible-pedlars, and had not found any of the human race so God-forsaken as to serve so purely hellish a cause. But, except we take this explanation, there is no other way to escape from it, that *the canting miscreants of Exeter Hall have gone to Ireland, crept into the hovels where poor Catholics were writhing in the agonies of a death from starvation, with rice boiled, and prepared in their hand, and have offered it on the condition of abjuring the Catholic faith, and when the condition was rejected, have gone away and left the poor Catholic to certain death!!!* Is it not well, is it not full time that Protestantism of this type has lost its hold on public sentiment, and that the howl of its self-confessed dissolution is no longer interrupted save by the jeerings of those whom it has attempted to dupe?"—*Freeman's Journal.*

It must be a most inveterate habit of lying which the present deplorable condition of Roman Catholics, and the noble generosity of Protestants cannot silence. Such a story as this must be an outright made-up slander, without one word of truth

about it. But even if one or two individuals had done just what is here represented, how poor a soul must that Catholic have, who would make a noise about it here, and how exceeding ungenerous in the midst of Protestant liberality, to call *that* "Protestantism of the true and genuine type." The thousands of dollars which come from all parts of our country for Catholic relief, (for there is no Protestant suffering of importance,) are, for the most part, given by Protestants who claim to be of the "true and genuine type." These free and happy States are peopled with such. But what if some Protestant association, unable to help all, had thought it a chief duty to aid Protestants? Has Popery anything to say against that? "Left to certain death!" If this had been the extent of Popish cruelty, its guilt would have been comparatively small. But it has not left Protestants to die! Its pathway through the dark ages, and while it had the power, was a broad way, piled high with Christian corpses on either side, and gullied deep with the river of Christian blood which was ever flowing through it, from victims *put to death* with all possible horrors. Left to die! Do you think that wrong? What do you think of shutting a mother in one room, and her child in an adjoining room, where she could hear its cries and its breathing, and then starving them both to death, because that mother refused to abjure Jesus Christ and worship the Virgin Mary? Such things as these, in hundreds of thousands of instances, and by the highest Catholic authorities, we have to balance your slander, thrown thus meanly back in the face of a generous Protestant world, laboring earnestly to relieve Catholic misery—and that misery created almost wholly by Romanism itself. Left to die, eh!

BIBLE OR NO BIBLE.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April* 6, 1847.]

He who would know the value of the Bible may learn it by comparing the United States with Mexico. Mexico was first settled, and by as good men perhaps as could be found anywhere without the Bible. The soil, the climate, the minerals of Mexico, were all superior to those of the United States. She had the superiority in everything except men, and the difference in the men was chiefly attributable to the Bible. We talk much of Anglo-Saxon *blood*. But why is that blood better than the blood of Aragon and Castile? The blood of all our race is feculent and feeble until the religion of the Bible gives it purity and vigor. No candid man can find any adequate cause for the boundless

disparity between the people of the two republics, except that one is a Protestant and the other a Catholic nation; one has the free use of the word of God, the other has it not.

Let the world look at the state of facts now exhibited in the two nations, and give a verdict of truth. Let them say whether the Lord is God, or the Pope of Rome; whether they will be ruled by the laws of God, or by those of an ignorant, lewd and lying priesthood.

In Mexico is a population of eight millions of people—poor, ignorant, violent, revolutionary; and a priesthood who have contrived to amass all the wealth in their own hands; a people and a country in abject poverty, and a Church with *seventy millions of dollars*, an army forced into the ranks, miserably armed, miserably clothed, and starved, on the one side; to meet an American army of volunteers, educated, well-armed, fed and clothed, and of a superiority so extraordinary, that where they stand, and against four times their number, they stand unmoved as the hills beneath them. In one nation cities rise on every hand; navies float on every sea; canals, railroads and communications of every sort facilitate the growing greatness and happiness of the people; while in the other, cities dwindle away and commerce scarcely has existence. In one nation every man is industrious and inventive, secure in his home, his family and his property; in the other, everything is indolence and insecurity. In one country schools are everywhere, instruction everywhere, intelligence and manly independence in every countenance; in the other, superstition, ignorance, servility, worthlessness. One country feeds the starving Catholics of Europe; the other starves Catholics at home. One is the land of freedom and plenty, to which the oppressed and starving of Europe are thronging as to a paradise; the other the abode of oppressors, and shunned by the most miserable as the place where they would only be made still more miserable. One country is adorned and blessed with thousands of churches, few of them rich, but filled with intelligent Christians, taught by a thoroughly educated and pious ministry; the other has churches filled with images, pictures, and ignorant devotees bowing before them, under the dictation of priests, who, with some exceptions, are ignorant, vicious, cock-fighting, gambling, sore-legged, and all in all as thorough-going a set of villains as ever took holy orders this side of the bottomless pit. One nation is full of Christians; the other is full of Catholics. One nation is full of Bibles; the other full of tradition. The Bible has made us to differ. Let us thank God and keep it, and not only keep it, but study it, and fill our minds and the minds of our children with its purifying and ennobling truths.

TENDENCIES OF ROMANISM.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 12, 1847.]

THE tendency of the Roman Catholic system is to barbarize and brutalize those who adopt it.

It removes the word of God from the people. It is in the study of the Bible alone that men find out their relationship to God and their fellow men, and their high dignity and responsibility. Nothing but this has ever enabled our race to stand up in such personal and associated dignity, as to maintain good order in connection with true liberty. Without the Bible men neither know God nor themselves.

The system deals in no *great thoughts.* It is by contemplating great objects that men become great. By contemplating others, men are "changed into the same image" with the objects of contemplation. The man who has with him always the grand idea of God's presence, who feels that the Almighty is round about him constantly, and does this with admiration and love for that high and holy Spirit in whom he lives, and moves, and is, gradually becomes elevated, purified, and like the object of his contemplations. The Romish religion wraps us in no such elevating contemplations. Instead of sending us to God through the great Mediator, with all our sorrows, desires and joys, it sends us to a priest, often a poor humanity, or to saints dressed out in fantastics, or to the Virgin Mary; and with the contemplation of these small, and often degrading objects, would occupy and fill our minds. It is not a religion of grand spiritualities, but of small materialities.

It does not appeal to the *ennobling affections* of our race. Benevolence is the great affection of man, and fear the least and most belittling. The Romish religion has little to do with benevolence, but is built almost wholly on fear; fear of penance, of the priest, of purgatory. Instead of teaching that we are to love all men as brethren, children of a common Father, it shuts up favor within the inclosure of the Church, and teaches that heretics (those who have opinions) are to be hated, persecuted and destroyed. It does not stimulate, but suppresses *mental exercise;* and the mind can no more thrive in indolence than the body. Investigation is mental exercise. Searching after truth, great truth, makes the mind strong and healthy. But Rome forbids all this mental exercise upon the greatest of all topics. It demands that men should never think and investigate, but *believe* the teachings of the Church. The mind which adopts this fundamental error is at once unstrung. Its exercise is ended, and its health and strength departed. Civil governments always, if they can,

demand the same slavish submission, so that when the system is carried out by religious hierarchy and political despots, men cease to think on these two most interesting subjects, and their intellectual strength departs. In our country, where freedom of political discussion is everywhere kept up, that does much to sustain intellectual strength. But he who consents to be enslaved, to give up his mind to the dictation of masters in religion, has lost, even here, the best means of intellectual culture, and even of thorough political knowledge. It is true that when despots in religion and politics have alike established their sway, there yet remain the broad fields of art and science, in which minds may rove and exercise. But these fields are trodden by a select few only, and they must keep to narrow paths, lest their feet should uncap some forbidden cave.

Individuality, and that *self-reliance* without which no man can be great, Rome discountenances everywhere. Rights here, and salvation hereafter, come down through the Church and her consecrated hands. Dependence, submission, are her constant cry. She allows no child of God to say, "I will tell it to my Father," and rest it there. But soul and body, time and eternity, hang on the will of men and association in the Church. The highest nobility of man, standing up alone in the rights which God gave him when He made him what he is, Rome dashes to the earth. What mind can fail to see the ennobling power of personal independence, and of personal divine right, in which an individual man stands, a king and a priest of God's making, high above all the kings and priests which men have made, or who have made themselves in spite of men.

Here are five great avenues to feebleness and brutalization, at which Rome is ever working. The number might be increased, and these might be expanded until volumes were filled. They are matters of common sense, obvious philosophy, and as interesting as obvious. The tendency of the great doctrines of any sect in religion, politics or general philosophy, should be considered; for these produce the grand results. A circumstance or cluster of circumstances may indicate an opposite result, as the windings of a path may sometimes turn the face of the traveler away from the proper end of his journey. But in both cases he is on his way, and moving toward the end with certainty. Here are reasons enough for the bloody revolution of France, for St. Bartholemew's day, and all the horrors of Catholic barbarity, for the present condition of Catholic countries. They show, too, how our land of happy Bible freemen would be dragged down to the den of brutality, if Rome or any other hierarchy should ever get the dominion over us.

ROMANISM AND LIBERTY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April* 14, 1848.]

Brownson, in the last number of his Review, has a labored article, in which he attempts to show that the Romish Church has been the patron of liberty always. He goes back to the time of the introduction of Christianity, describes the bad state of the world then, and attempts to show that it has become much better since. Bishop Hughes has attempted to show the same liberalizing tendency of his Church, and so have various others. But it would be a much shorter process, and much more satisfactory, we think, if, instead of wading through the labyrinths of so many ages of darkness, tyranny and crime, the gentleman would point us directly to the various nations where this "tendency" has resulted in the establishment of that which was the end and object of the tendency. We take it that a tendency, which is nothing but a tendency, might as well be a tendency to one thing as another. In fact, the best way to ascertain the tendency of any cause is, to inquire what has been produced. Prelacy assumed great influence during the early centuries, and in five or six hundred years had come to exert an almost undisputed sway. If it was in full tendency from the year 500 to the year 1500, it would seem that a tendency of a thousand years must have "cropped out," as the geologists say, at some point, and come to the realization of a "development." Obviously, the Catholic Church ought not to be held responsible for what has happened since Knox, Luther, Calvin, Huss, and others like them, brought in their disturbing influences. But anywhere, along from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries, if the great Catholic tendency did really come above ground, in the establishment of a well-regulated republican government, anywhere under the patronage of the Pope, for instance, or any other Catholic dignitary, historians have very carelessly overlooked it. They were not aware of the tendency perhaps,—were not looking out for the development, and so stumbled over without observing it. If any such thing really existed, and Mr. Brownson will point it out, we will slide down the plane of time a thousand years, with the pleasure of his company, to see it. Possibly it lies just developed under or among the ruins of Herculaneum. Wherever it be, though yet buried deep under boundless continents of lava or other rubbish, we will "off coat," and with pickaxe in hand, dig as long as he will, to find it. But there have been, all along, several nations in which the Catholic tendency to freedom has been operating, in a great measure undisturbed, until recently. We do not refer to England or the

United States, for in both these countries the tendency was run off the track two hundred years ago. But it has been working in Spain, Italy, Austria, South America, and in Russia too, we presume; for when the Eastern or Greek Church separated from the Western or Romish, she probably kept her share of the tendency. Will Mr. Brownson, or any of the learned gentlemen, either lay, reverend, or very reverend, or right reverend, point us to the really free Catholic country now basking in the liberty which Popery has brought to it? We are ready to take ship any day to visit that country. Certainly in Italy, in the very focus of this great tendency, it must have wrought out the great object of its labor; yet they say the people have never been allowed to vote for their rulers there, in either Church or State; that they have no newspapers except those entirely controlled by government, no meetings of citizens to discuss political or religious subjects, no public schools, no Bible, "no nothing." Well, if that is the best result of an uninterrupted tendency to liberty of twelve centuries, then we cannot understand the use of tendencies.

The Puritan tendencies have not been at work a quarter so long, and yet see what developments have come above ground. They came up early, like tulips in the spring. Whose tendencies these are which are heaving so under all the old Catholic thrones of Europe, we will not stop to say; but we cannot help thinking, that this old tendency of Romanism which Mr. Brownson describes, has been stimulated into a more rapid productiveness since the land has been literally dressed with Protestant lime.

MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS.

In making selections from the writings of Mr. Hale for the present volume, the Editor has limited himself mainly to topics of a moral and religious nature. He has excluded political subjects, on which—especially that of Free Trade—Mr. Hale wrote much and with great ability. He must also omit many miscellaneous articles which would of themselves make an interesting volume. From the great mass of such articles contained in the more than six thousand numbers of the *Journal of Commerce* which have been examined for the purpose, such only have been selected as are supposed to have some permanent value, or to be of striking merit. Each article here inserted has been identified as Mr. Hale's by Mr. Gerard Hallock, by whose kind aid the Editor has been enabled to make this compilation.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, February* 3, 1846.]

"Forefather's Day.—The claims of the old Puritans to our memory and admiration cannot, we presume, be vindicated on the ground of their intrepidity and skill as voyagers, or of the privations they endured, though condemned to live when they landed, their descendant pathetically tells, on 'a *few* biscuits, a *little* Holland cheese, and a *small* bottle of aqua vitæ.' Consequently the results of their deeds on this continent, or their former lives and character, establish their title to fame with posterity. 'Around this spot,' said the President, 'little more than two hundred years ago, men enacted scenes which constituted the history of a nation. One degree of heat and cold more or less, one tomahawk more, and an empire was extinguished.' Acting under the like natural gratitude, the denizens of a future flourishing republic may assemble on the shores of New Zealand to honor their pilgrim progenitors, for they too will have planted an empire. They may be supposed to cast a retrospect on their narrow escape from non-existence, and say, a judge more clement, a felony less heinous, a jury more conscientious, and an empire was unborn.

"As to their character and the motives of their conduct, the concurrent testimonies of all impartial historians concede that their turbulence made Europe too hot for their practices. Nor can Mr. Webster

dispel the belief in this overwhelming authority by quoting history to prove they were an ambitious, unscrupulous sect, and, without showing, doggedly asserting the contrary. They committed their lives to the ocean, it may be said, in vindication of religious freedom. But they always pushed the doctrine in the application to their own case to the most extravagant excesses, and the destruction of civil obedience. The instant they ceased to be slaves, did they not play the tyrant? Nay, while actually harassed by vexation and oppression, did they not strive to perpetuate against other persuasions the thraldom at which they so obstreperously clamored? Looking at the specimens that remained, the Old World, indeed, may bless her fate on the transportation of a portion of the race to a place where they could no longer be dangerous, and calculated to reform their tempers by diverting them from their favorite occupation of preaching, to the necessity of deriving a subsistence from clearing the forest and cultivating the soil. They left behind too many bad on principle, with one who earned an everlasting memory by chance, and one who reaped immortal curses by his crimes. Deeply was it to be lamented that Oliver Cromwell did not make one of the *Pilgrims;* he would have returned to his primitive avocation of the plow, and the world would have been spared the bloody record on which Puritanism has engraven his name."—*Freeman's Journal (Catholic).*

Bite viper! If the man who wrote this for the official organ of this diocese, or his ancestors of like blood, could have known in 1620 that only "one tomahawk more" was wanting, it would have been speedily supplied. But the time when one tomahawk or a million could extinguish the empire of earth's deliverance from the reign of priestcraft has gone by, thanks to the providence of God. The empire of Puritan emancipation is so firmly established upon the broad basis of truth, that though the emissaries of the Papacy come here by thousands, build their cathedrals, establish their nunneries, and set up their newspapers to curse the fathers of the republic and the principles which they pronounced, yet no one is alarmed. The pillars which they erected tremble not, and no well-instructed descendant of the Pilgrims is alarmed. Yet to this day, the Papacy dare not allow a Yankee boy to pass its frontier with a Bible in his pocket, lest he should overthrow the Church. The head Papa sits trembling at Rome, scared by the noise of a printing-press, more frightful to him than the earthquakes of Etna and Vesuvius. And yet the noise grows louder. That blessed "palaver stone" at Plymouth is becoming a great mountain and filling the earth—burying forever divine right and the boundless wickedness of the men who claimed it. Cry on then from the tops of all the Seven Hills, "treason! rebellion! there can be no church without a bishop, no state without a king!" Gather together hard names and hard curses mountain high, and hurl them upon the Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock. It is too late, for the empire of liberty is founded.

The Pilgrims had a pilot to guide them, in whom they trusted, more than in their own skill. True, they did not land where they expected, but they landed where God intended, and that was what they desired. It is not pretended that the Pilgrims were perfect either in wisdom or holiness. They were men from Europe, not angels from heaven, nor gods from anywhere, nor even saints from Italy. They had not learned everything, but they had learned that God was greater than the Pope, that the Bible was a safer guide than tradition, that salvation was by faith in Jesus Christ, not by absolution from the priest. They had learned the great doctrine of human equality and the divine rights of man as he came from the hand of his Creator, and they valued those rights more than the blessing of the bishop. They found a shorter way to heaven than that which lies through purgatory, and a surer ticket of admission than masses, bought with money.

But there is no better testimony to the character of the parents than is to be found in that of the children. We are willing the Puritan pioneers of New England, and the Catholic pioneers of South America, should be judged and compared either by the records of history, or the facts of the present day. We are willing to compare New England with Rome itself, the very seat of Catholic influences. We are willing to weigh what the Puritans have done for the happiness of mankind, against the labors of their revilers, whether they be put forth through the organ of Bishop Hughes or the Reverend Rector of New Rochelle, whose unscrupulous misrepresentations disgrace a respectable Puritan name. Where has liberty spread her wings without restraint but in the land of the Puritans? Nay, where, but under the protection of Puritan principles, did ever self-government maintain anything but endless revolution? The doctrines of salvation by penances and absolutions and auricular confessions and prelatical blessings, and that tradition and the Church are the rules of faith, make men slaves to priestcraft. The doctrine that the Bible is the only rule of faith, and that salvation is by faith in Jesus Christ alone, disenthrals the soul, and makes God's freemen. Such were the Pilgrims, and such are most of their descendants still.

But however much hierarchs may hate and vilify the Puritans and their principles, they are compelled to bow down and do them reverence. At the staple and ring fastened by the Puritans, their stiff necks are compelled to bend. Here, we have the strange inconsistency of men abusing the doctrines of the Puritans, as they pretend, and yet praising the religious and civil liberty and the universal education which are but the practical

development of those doctrines. The Pope's bishop here, the patron of this scoffing journal, out-Herods the Pilgrims in his praises of Pilgrim democracy. Amid the denunciations of the fountain, all hands praise the stream below, compelled by the fruitfulness and beauty of the valley around. Popery curses the Pilgrims, and then seeks to be popular by putting on their garments.

The Pope here is the friend of education, self-government, religious liberty, and has "no objection" to the reading the Bible in the public schools; in fact you would almost think him Elder Brewster risen from the dead. What higher praise did any men ever extort from their enemies? Go on then, Genius of Hierarchy, to upbraid the Pilgrims of 1620. You cannot deliver yourself from the controlling spell of their doctrines. You must walk in the procession of the Pilgrim triumph. The Pilgrims are dead, to be sure. Tyrants and slaves may kick their dust. But their principles live and will live to lay superstition and tyranny in the dust.

Bishop Hughes, in the versatility of his genius, delivered a lecture two or three years ago, in which he demonstrated, as he seemed to think, that Popery naturally tends to liberty and civilization, and that if it had not always produced these results, it was owing to "accidents." The Reformation under Luther he thought a great misfortune, as it interrupted the regular development of the blessings of Popery. The Bishop felt sure that the bombshells which were found in the Pope's nest just at that time were the genuine eggs of the republican goose; and that, if Luther had not scared her off, she would have hatched out, in due time, a brood of liberty, religion, and literature. No matter that whenever one of these eggs had really been hatched, there had burst out a thousand iron slugs and all sorts of murderous things,—that was only an accident. Republican eggs will sometimes hatch that way. At any rate, the Bishop proved to demonstration, that the most hideous despotism which ever crushed our race would have produced liberty, order, and virtue, if only it had been left alone: just as a battle-field, manured with gore, bears rich clover, or a heap of compost-filth covers itself with violets and dandelions. So the Papacy was established as the natural progenitor of Puritanism.

PILGRIMS' DAY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, December* 21, 1847.]

The New England Society of this city will celebrate the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, with their accustomed oration at the Tabernacle, and supper at the Astor House. The orator this year is J. Prescott Hall, Esq., whose personal reputation leads us to expect that the high character of this anniversary will not suffer in his hands. The Yankees in Brooklyn having set up for themselves, are to have their feast also. Rev. Dr. Cheever is their orator; and as to the feast, they intend to have some flow of soul there, for although they have excluded intoxicating liquors, they have introduced the ladies who are sometimes still more intoxicating.

It is grateful to rest upon events which show that the virtues are not merely a list of pretty labels placed on empty packages, or, what is still worse, used only to smuggle along bad things under cover. There must be some virtue, or hypocrisy would have been dead long ago, for the pretense to that which never was cannot long cheat people. Yet if we were really to ascertain how small a quantity of real virtue has been able to keep up this vast growth of fungous matter, looking all green and healthy, we should find that pure virtue, the real morphia itself, must have a wonderful power in it. The world has never yet sunk so low, as not to know that real virtue is of inestimable worth. Every one who pretends to have anything pretends that he has the genuine article, yet there is a wonderful quantity of counterfeit stuff abroad. There is a courage much boasted of, by which men fight duels and all sorts of battles, which, after all, is nothing but *fear* of somebody's talk; there is a benevolence which only does good deeds to others, because it sees that it can carry out its own selfishness that way; there is a piety which makes a great outside show of words and ceremonies, merely to cover the track of freer sinning; and there is a patriotism which makes a great outcry about the public good, but means nothing but its own. These counterfeits of virtues are always the deadliest enemies of the real thing; and their way of fighting it, is to call it by the names of their own hateful qualities. Sheep thieves, they say, cry stop-thief loudest of all the throng; so you may pick out the real bigots and hypocrites of the community, by selecting those whom you hear most vehemently charging others with these vile qualities.

It is one of the remarkable characteristics of real virtue, that it deals little in pretension as to itself. It *acts* out itself. Its proof is in the use, and it seems often to be quite unconcerned about what others think. Real virtue, knowing its own worth,

is careful too, not hastily to charge that what seems right externally is really wrong. "Charity hopeth all things," and is not half so ready to call a hypocrite by his true name, as the hypocrite is to fix his own name upon sincerity. If a man talks a great deal about honesty, do not put your money in his hands.

But there is a great characteristic about true heroic virtue. It always exerts itself about that which it thinks *right*. A bravery which exerts itself in mere destruction, a patriotism which will hurry the country to ruin, rather than offend the popular opinion, falls off here, and proves itself hollow-hearted,—a vice and not a virtue. *Is it right?* That is the first and last question with great virtue. What is *duty?* What is *usefulness?* What will fall in with and carry out the plans of Infinite Goodness? The man of real virtue stands by God's side and works with him. He is a hero, as inconceivable to common heroes, as God himself, almost. He works by rules and acts on plans, to them incomprehensible.

Puritanism was not a man or generation of men, but a principle, a soul which makes a hero of any man in whom it dwells. It had a marvelous development in the seventeenth century, but has had its developments in all centuries, even in this, we trust. In the seventeenth century, men grew to be great heroes, by the working of true virtue within them, and cruel oppression without them, and a better knowledge of what was real truth than had existed for ages before. These Puritans were hated, hated, hated; yes! with a perfect, furious, inexpressible hatred. There was reason enough for this in Church and State, for they had found out that MAN was a king and a priest, and this put them that wore crowns and miters into the ranks at once, and turned the world upside down sure enough, or at least brought it to one broad equality.

What they believed they practiced; and so, when a man who had been a special king rebelled against the government, committed treason, and could in no otherwise be made to allow peace to the commonwealth, they cut his head off, for the necessity of the case, and without any particular superstition about the matter. There was some shaking about thrones in those days, when there was danger that the common good of all the people alike was to be made the rule of action.

There was never a greater effort made on earth to bury up and destroy anything, than has been made against this Puritanism, and the great men whose hearts beat with it; and yet, with a single exception, and that almost a part of the very same thing, no other set of men ever laid the world under such mighty obligation to them, or produced such great blessings for our race.

Liberty, civil and religious, the Puritans won it for us all. They have been accused of everything but what they were. We have thought this a good occasion to show how some of these things stand, and we have a couple of capital witnesses, in Carlyle and the North American Review, neither of which can be accused of any prejudice in favor of Puritanism.

Every man who would understand this strange giant period of the world, should read Carlyle's book through; and he will grow himself, if he will but allow it. The Puritans who landed on Plymouth Rock, and their immediate associates, have been charged a million of times, with coming over for gain; to get from government, that they might play the tyrant themselves; with destroying the Indians; with persecuting the Quakers; persecuting Roger Williams, &c. All these things are utter lies, though told never so many times. The facts out of which most of these stories are fabricated did not happen in connection with the Plymouth colonists at all, but with the corporated planters of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay; nor until the generation of immigrants had all passed away. The facts as charged never happened at all. The quotations below, constituting the concluding portion of a review of Mr. Young's collection of chronicles, in the North American Review, put these things in their true position. [These are omitted for want of room.]

BISHOP HUGHES AMONG THE PURITANS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 8, 1848.]

SPIRITUALITIES are easily lost sight of. Sentiment controls men, and yet, while we celebrate the praises of a sentiment which in old times blessed the world, its life dies away within us, and the praises of a great virtue will perhaps be celebrated by orgies of viciousness. Even those *symbols* of sentiment or feeling which are intended to perpetuate virtue, lose the life themselves which they were intended to secure, and come to be themselves substituted for it, to its entire extinction. So men honor humility by wearing sackcloth and abstaining from meat, while their hearts, very possibly, are full of pride, and their bellies of salmon and eggs. Those spiritual sentiments and feelings which purify and ennoble men, come to be celebrated by outside shells of ceremony, got up as *substitutes* for the represented graces, and as a decent apology for the total absence of all real goodness. When this process has gone on until the vicious apparition of virtue is thoroughly substituted for its living self, then a refor-

mation becomes necessary; a recurrence to first principles; a beginning *de novo.*

It would be difficult to imagine any aberration from original principles, any passing round to a precisely antipodal position, more thorough and perfect than the invitation of a Romish prelate to participate in a festival to the honor of the Pilgrims who landed on Plymouth Rock, December 22d, 1620. If ever there were men who personified principles, they were the Pilgrims. Men as learned as they, perhaps as enterprising and industrious, certainly more wealthy, landed on various points along the Atlantic coast, before and after these Pilgrims, and yet their landing gave interest to no rock, and their acts have left no impression on the world. Surely the landing of a small ship-load of men and women, hungry and frozen, upon the barren beach of Plymouth, was in itself an event of no consequence to the world. There was something in and about these men and women which did not appertain to others; something beyond mere common humanity. They were peculiar, strange men and women; strange in *character,* in sentiment and in spirit. They came here avowing a purpose which no emigrants except themselves and their immediate associates avowed. They were peculiar in this, that they took the Bible as their sufficient rule of religious faith, rejecting the authority of men present, and the traditions of the ancients. They rejected all those claims to clerical authority which were founded on official succession, and claimed for themselves, and each one of themselves, a commission from Jesus Christ, not only to preach the word, but to do everything which the exigencies of the Church might require. They claimed that authority came from God through the people; and so, that every community was a State, and every assembly of Christians a Church; and that in Church and State there was no rightful authority but that which had its origin in the voluntary consent of the people.

We need not stop to inquire whether these principles of the Pilgrims were more true, or less true, than the opposite principles which they rejected, and which had rejected and persecuted them. We have only to say that the sentiments which they held, and of which we have enumerated some of the most important, rendered them a peculiar people; and their peculiar sentiments alone rendered their landing an event of any consequence to the world. These opinions were in contradiction of the opinions of the world generally, as it then existed, and they were put forth in resistance to the authorities of the world. The kings and prelates of the world felt that these principles were utterly inconsistent with their claims, and subversive of their authority.

They justly regarded the sentiments of the Pilgrims as nothing less than treason against them. Here was a war of principle wide as the world.

The descendants of the Pilgrims, and all others who meet to commemorate the landing of the Pilgrims, celebrate the *principles* more than the men who landed; or rather, the principles *in* the men which made them what they were. Any other motive would be an absurdity and a weakness. It was not to be expected that all the descendants of the Pilgrims, much less that all the people of New England, and all their descendants, should hold on to the principal opinions of the first Pilgrims. They have all a right to think for themselves, and the spirit of their fathers conjures them to find the *truth*, and then to hold it fast as above all price. Yet it is difficult to comprehend what cordiality there can be, really and thoughtfully, in the praises of their fathers by men who have rejected the opinions which they held, and adopted those which they rejected. Still, when a lineal descendant of the Pilgrims chooses to stand up and declare at a Pilgrim dinner, that "there can be no Church without a Bishop," we can only say, "They are not all Israel which are of Israel," and wonder at the strange absurdity of celebrating the praises of men, and excommunicating them on the same occasion. But when a prelate is brought in who has not a drop of Pilgrim blood in his veins; who has exerted his utmost power to drive the Bible from our system of public education; who prints it in his book of directions for the diocese, that "a heretic is one who has an opinion," and has just declared of the Romish Church, under his own name, in his own paper, "that all Protestants who have a zeal for their salvation, ought to enter her communion with as little delay as possible;" when such a man is made conspicuous at a Pilgrim dinner, we say absurdity can go no further, and it is time for a reformation. The sentimental descendants from the Pilgrims—the real spiritual succession—cannot consent to such a state of things. This we say, not in disrespect to Bishop Hughes, or to the opinions of any one, but in deference to the proprieties of an occasion. We need not explain the incongruity, for the consciousness of every sensible man explains it to himself. But we must be excused for speaking freely of this matter, though not disrespectfully, we hope.

We are obliged to think that the real design of a Pilgrim celebration has been lost sight of almost entirely. We have been gratified to see with what a noble zeal some of the leading gentlemen in the society, who have either gone back to the opinions of church order which the Pilgrims rejected, or forward to the denial of those grand theological doctrines upon which they built

their whole Christianity, have led on the eulogies of the Pilgrims, however hard those eulogies might bear against their own present opinions. They have seemed to comprehend the greatness of their fathers, and to realize that, on the day of their praises, those praises should go forth without controversy or embarrassment. Certainly this is right, and everything else is wrong. Yet we cannot help thinking that the great discrepancies of opinion to which we have alluded, have brought about this strange oblivion of the real objects of a Pilgrim celebration. Nothing could more forcibly illustrate the contradiction between the occasion and the presence of a Romish Bishop, than an occurrence which took place at the last meeting of the officers of the New England Society, before the dinner. A committee had been appointed, as usual, to invite honored guests; and at this meeting, as usual, the toasts were to be agreed upon, and the arrangements finished. One of the officers proposed as a toast, "The Clergy of New England—they draw their theology from the living fountain of God's word, not from the stagnant pool of human tradition." "That won't do," exclaimed a member of the committee on invitations: "we have invited Bishop Hughes." Sure enough, that toast would not do at a dinner to which a Romish prelate had been invited. It would have been an insult; and does it not follow that the memory of our fathers was insulted by the opposite course? Certainly the least which courtesy demands is, that every celebration of principles and men, whatever they be, should be unembarrassed by the opposite opinions. If those who hold opposite opinions, in whole or in part, choose, for any reasons, to be present, they go in submission to the occasion, and not to require that the occasion shall submit to them. We would treat all men with the deference which is due to the occasions on which we meet them. If we should visit the King or the Pope, we should do it with the expectation of conforming to all the established etiquette of their presence. But if all the popes and kings on earth should come to the Pilgrim dinner, it should not hinder us from shouting, "A Church without a Bishop and a State without a King!"

GRANTS TO CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 29, 1847.]

The State and city governments are overwhelmed with demands for grants to charitable institutions and for charitable objects. Many of these appear in forms the most corrupting to the minds of our rulers. They are backed up by the usefulness of the institutions, the clamor of sympathy for the suffering, the charges of want of sympathy against the opponents of such grants, and above all the threat that all the powers of charity shall be exerted to *vote down* the opponents of its demands. These means are not all resorted to on every occasion, but they are the natural and common resort. But the question generally lies deeper than these things. It is a question of right and of general expediency. If the friends of an excellent charity were to come to you, and ask you to steal your neighbor's property and give it to them, and should go on to urge the excellency of the charity, and the hard-heartedness of rejecting their plea, you would certainly say that all that had nothing to do with the case. "The property is not at my disposal," you would say, and think the man a thief who would urge you farther. This is the answer which we must teach our legislators to give to these petitions for charitable aid. "We are not authorized to *give away* the public property, but merely to *manage* it for the public use," must come to be the answer to all these demands, or the property of the whole country will be given away, and we shall all be the beneficiaries of charity. No possible shape of charity could be worse than that which is assumed in Great Britain and our own country, a mingling of public and private action. Private charity begins the institutions, and government is expected to perfect and sustain them. No plan or want of plan could be worse than this. It demoralizes the whole system of government. A number of individuals join together and establish a public institution,—a college or asylum, perhaps. Possibly the motive is purely charitable; possibly it is purely selfish. The nature of the institution is public; that is, it proposes to do a benefit to all who feel its influence, and it invites the whole community to come and receive its benefits. They begin the institution, and give it some shape, and form around it a circle of friends. Then the public are "deemed and taken" to be bound for its support. The parties who have started the enterprise have not inquired whether they were *able* to carry it through. Nor indeed were they obliged to do so, for they calculated beforehand that the State, or city, or the nation, might be relied upon to make up all deficiencies. Universal private solicitation may be first resorted to, and if this is only done without

any false pretenses, it is not particularly objectionable. But money comes too slowly when only given by those who own it. To get abundant supplies it is necessary to go to those *who give away other people's money,*—Congress, or the State Legislature, or the Common Council of the city—to some body of men, who are none the poorer themselves for the money they give away, and may be richer in good opinions, and perhaps in votes, for their charity. Evidently such a system must have limits set to it, or it will give away everything. Here are a thousand little gatherings of individuals devising plans of expenditure for the public. The public are not called to the primary consultations. Everything is begun upon the voluntary principle, and then thrown off upon the shoulders of the public. The public undertake the education of all the children, and the support of all the paupers, and that is a burthen which is as yet unweighed; but in these institutions of private origin is another field of public expenditure, boundless in its extent and thoroughly demoralizing in its form. Considerations like these must, we are persuaded, be brought in to control, nay, to forbid, the practice which has been going on and strengthening, until it is almost uncontrollable. The British Government are involved in difficulties which confound their statesmen. They have been driven to the endowment of Maynooth as one expedient. The endowment is right as a simple matter of adjustment, under a principle, however, which is entirely erroneous. A Protestant nation is compelled by its own erroneous practice, to endow Catholic institutions. They will be compelled, on the same plan, to endow infidel institutions,—all sorts of institutions; for the doctrine now laid down is, that all who contribute to the public treasure are entitled to equal benefits in the distribution of that treasure, without inquiry as to their faith. What utter confusion must such a doctrine produce! When we say that all citizens are entitled to equal protection under the government, to equal justice, and to an equal share in all the benefits of the government, to the full extent of protection in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," we say that which is easily understood and done. But when we undertake to keep up this even-handed equality, in the support of all their enterprises, literary, religious, agricultural, mechanical, charitable, and everything else, we are in utter confusion. The money of the State is given to build up one institution, and then to build another to pull down the first, and universal dissatisfaction must be the end.

We have repeatedly stated these views, more or less distinctly, and applied them against granting various requests, pending before some branch of government. We wish now particularly to oppose them to the application of the Asylum for the Deaf and

Dumb, which is pending before the Common Council. We are glad to find that such principles are recognized by some of the members. We hope they will be sustained by the voice of every good citizen. It ought to be said in tones not to be misunderstood, that it is not competent for the Common Council to *give* away the property of the city. They have rightfully no such power. The property is not theirs, and they have *no right* to give it to the Asylum. This is a good time to say the truth and act upon it; for the Asylum in question is one of our most excellent institutions. There is no doubt about its usefulness. But the Common Council have no right to comply with their request. It would be a piece of usurpation in them, of violation of their plain duty, though only such a violation as has been often committed. We say, No! to all those things, and the City Council must say, No, or the city will be ruined; and that will be a worse result, than that an excellent institution should be left for its support to its legitimate resources.

PROVISION FOR THE POOR.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, November* 25, 1847.]

Both the intellect and physical faculties depend upon use for their development. Necessity is the mother of invention, and so she is of every strong, well formed, desirable faculty. Such is the natural repugnance of our nature to effort, that all possible motives are necessary to rouse us to vigorous action. The man of wealth finds it impossible to give to his children the energy which he sees in the children of his less prosperous neighbors. His own children will trust in their father's wealth, while those who have no such enfeebling support trust in themselves. Sometimes the children of the rich, if they are fortunate enough to lose their patrimony, prove to have resources which neither they nor others supposed them to possess. Sometimes an unexpected difficulty, thrown across the path of a moderate man, will start him into a new career; and persecution creates saints and heroes out of common every-day characters. Sometimes a delicate lady who seemed fitted only for the toilet, when left a destitute widow, is stimulated by a mother's love to more than masculine effort for the support and honor of her children. Her character is transformed by the change in her condition. Necessity stirs us to meet it, while, without any necessity, human nature sinks down inert and worthless. This is the tendency, though occasional, perhaps numerous, exceptions occur. The

hope of fame or of increased wealth, and sometimes the benevolent desire of doing good, will stir the human powers to high achievements. But these are exceptions; and among the ignorant, the superstitious and debased, such cases are rare indeed.

It is unnecessary to say, after such statements, that the general policy with reference to the poor, which has been pursued in England and America, is perfectly fitted to unnerve and destroy society. It meets men who have entertained high hopes, and held high places perhaps, whenever discouraged by disappointment and difficulty, and instead of encouraging them to new and wiser efforts, invites them to give up, and retire to public support. To the man who charges his misfortunes to the community or the government, the alms-house says, "Come, eat of my bread, and live at the expense of your persecutors." To the ignorant, the vicious and lazy, the alms-house is a sort of elysium where they may bask in undisturbed indolence. The enfeebling influence of the alms-house is much increased by the fact that every one feels that he has a *right* to go and live there. The pauper thanks nobody for his daily bread; not he. He is a citizen. He has perhaps paid taxes, or done military or jury duty; and the support which he finds in this public institution, he feels, is connected with his citizenship; and he lives there with the most entire feeling that he is at home, eating at his own table. This characteristic attaches to all charitable *associations*. The money which is given to trustees for the use of the poor, *belongs* to the poor. They, therefore, are under no obligation to thank the trustees. Associations have this other evil tendency, that they break up the natural connection between the various classes of society. He who gives, and he who receives, are separated from each other, whereas they should be well acquainted. Some shapes of associations are more objectionable than others in this respect, but all are objectionable, though perhaps judicious on the whole, notwithstanding all objections. It is exceedingly difficult for the poor to repress the feeling, that want on their part implies obligation to supply want on the part of those who are favored with a surplus. This feeling is not without a good basis in fact, so far as want is the consequence of misfortune, and not of indolence or extravagance. But our object in these remarks is not so much to discuss the obligations of the prosperous, as to inquire how those obligations can be discharged without increasing the evil which they desire to cure. If giving to the poor in any one way undermines human energy and increases pauperism, it is a vice to give, unless it is absolutely necessary to save life.

It is quite evident that the pauper policy of England and

America is accumulating an extent of pauperism which threatens the very existence of the mother country, and which is fearfully disorganizing society in this. Some remedy must be found; some new mode of charity must be discovered, or industry will be crushed under the insupportable burden of poverty. We must say, that in this country at least, nine-tenths of the pauperism is unnecessary. Most of the paupers, while they live in the alms-house, are as able to support themselves as the industrious poor who bear the double burden of their own support and that of their indolent neighbors in the poor-house. And of the rest, most of them suffer only on the fixed law of God, in consequence of their vices. A few, a very few, are what are called "virtuous poor;" and no one will say aught against the obligation of the prosperous to make them comfortable. The opinion that paupers are able to support themselves, is sustained by the fact, that in well-conducted workhouses, they *do* support themselves, and pay the expenses of the establishment, and more besides:—so that well-regulated workhouses are a source of profit to the towns which have established them. The occupations of these workhouses are simple, of course, and such as require no special skill. How abundantly could such paupers support themselves, if they should apply themselves with the vigor of freemen, instead of the indolence of paupers. In general, too, beyond incidental advice and encouragement, every man can better understand and direct his own energies, than any other person can direct them for him.

That the present system must be abandoned, is coming to be more and more the opinion of intelligent men; and this, not from any feeling of unkindness toward even the vicious poor, but to save society from being engulfed in pauperism.

We suggest that the fundamental wrong in the present system is the doctrine that it is the *province of government* to distribute alms. It is this erroneous view of the powers and duties of government that lies at the bottom of the monstrous evil. The same error with respect to religion, literature, and many other things, has been productive of the direst mischief. It is a great evil that the proper sphere of government is so loosely defined, if defined at all. To the government men go for the correction of all evils, real or imaginary; and government is commonly quite willing to enlarge its prerogatives to any extent. Our fathers described the proper duties of government with admirable truth. They said that governments were instituted to secure the *inalienable rights* of men; and these rights they declared with equal accuracy to be "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Yet our community, regardless of these

great truths, think government should inspect fish, measure corn, regulate the rate of usance, and almost be the market-man and cook of every family. Some progress, we hope, is making in a right practice,—but the grand simplicity, the only lawful business of government, is very little perceived. Certainly the distribution of alms is not the proper business of government, either national or municipal.

Another fundamental reform must be, to place the support of the poor really and truly in its proper attribute, not of right, but of *charity*. It is right that pauperism should be restrained by the acknowledgment of this great truth.

Farther, relief should be divested of its *certainty*. Charity ought to be precarious and uncertain. The industrious ant and bee would be unnerved by the knowledge that the winter's store would be *sure* without the summer's toil; and certainly our race, more indolent than the insects, can never endure the enfeebling influence of such a fact. It is easy to see that the people who fill our alms-house can never have hearts to work, while elegant ease and leisure are provided for them on Randall's Island, with greater certainty, to the end of their days, than any industrious man holds the house which he has paid for.

These suggestions contemplate great reforms, and many will think, great hazards. But it is well to encounter great hazards in the hope of avoiding certain ruin.

In our own country, more safely perhaps than in any other, may charity be left to the charitable. There is in no other country more ability or disposition to relieve the distressed; and in no other country is the wide field of self-reliance so successfully opened as here. Here the demand for labor is boundless; wages high, living cheap. Here, if anywhere, each man can and ought to take care of himself, and all schemes of furnishing food, clothing, or even labor, *systematically*, on any other plan than that of the free exercise of every man's liberty in his own behalf, will be found to be but rottenness in the bones of the commonwealth.

TEMPERANCE AND POLITICS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, October* 6, 1838.]

The laws regulating or prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors are likely to have an important bearing on the elections in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In both those States, laws have been enacted with the design of preventing the retail spirit trade altogether. It seems to us that the friends of temperance need to apply the remedy somewhat to their logic, as well as to their appetites. They charge distillers and dealers with crimes of which they are not guilty, and assert that because they are dealers, they are incapable of judging on the question. This is no such answer as a good cause need give to opposing arguments, and it can be no answer to intelligent minds. If a man were in danger of being hanged, it would be very possible that he might give very good reasons why such a punishment should not be inflicted upon him. But, whether his reasons were sufficient or insufficient, no sensible judge would think of setting aside his defense, on the ground that he was too deeply interested to be able to judge in the case.

On the other hand, it seems to us the dealers must fail entirely in their position, that the laws prohibiting the retail trade are unconstitutional. The business does more mischief to society than all other causes put together. It destroys life, peace, property, and everything which is held most dear, and annually throws its thousands of ruined victims upon society, to be supported by the money of those who have had no share in the profits of their ruin. If society has not the right to stop this, we know not for what society is formed. If this business is not against the general welfare, what is? The vending of lottery-tickets is not a tenth part so bad; yet the spirit-dealers will not pretend the laws prohibiting their sale are unconstitutional. Society possesses the power to prohibit and prevent all those pursuits by individuals, which interfere with the general well-being of the whole. And the power is in fact exercised much beyond this limit; for a multitude of pursuits are forbidden which are nowise injurious—nay, which are positively useful. [The prohibitions, to be sure, are always on the ground that the prohibited occupation is injurious.] Now if society may forbid those things which are only imagined to be injurious, and those things which are injurious only in a small degree,—in fact, prohibit everything supposed to be bad,—then it would be very strange if it could not prohibit the greatest of all evils, that which stalks abroad, desolating the land.

COLD WATER DINNERS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, December* 29, 1841.]

A PUBLIC dinner without wine is a new and strange thing Wine has been supposed to be the soul of wit, the spirit of conviviality, and the very genius of inspiration. Poets have written, artists painted, orators declaimed, and dinner-parties roared, under its impulses, until it has come to be thought that there could be neither wit nor skill without it. But a few experiments lately have started the query whether there is not more inspiration in cold water than in wine. There is an old saw that, "when wine is in, wit is out;" which has lived all along, in spite of public sentiment to the contrary. Especially at dinners it has been noticed that whether the wit grew brighter with each succeeding bowl or not, the laugh grew louder, until the laugh getting ahead of the wit, would roar before it listened. It has been noticed, too, that when gentlemen were about to drink wine after dinner, it was thought necessary that the ladies should withdraw. This was always a bad sign, for it is well known that when a man is about to make himself a brute, he commonly turns away from his wife and daughters, and from all respectable females, or drives them away from him. This fact has thrown suspicion on the motive for turning the ladies away from the dinner-table at the moment the wine was brought on, and upon the conduct which succeeded, under the change of influences. Most men, so long as they are conscious that their conduct is reputable and right, are fond of the society of ladies, especially on all occasions of social enjoyment. Woman was designed to be the constant companion of man. Her promptings put him up to his duty, and her reproofs keep him back from excess. The man who is going to a convivial scene where he cannot take his wife, is generally going where he should not.

THE TEMPERANCE REFORMATION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 14, 1843.]

THIS has been one of the most, if not quite the most remarkable movement of this remarkable age. A war had been kept up against intemperance from time immemorial. But nothing was really accomplished until about twenty years ago, when *total abstinence* was thought of. That thought brightened the hopes of philanthropists, and brought them up once more to the conflict, with more energy than before. Total abstinence from distilled liquors, was the motto on their banner. The new

thought, however, did not create courage enough to attempt the reformation of those already accustomed to drunkenness. They, it was supposed, were beyond the reach of kindness and of hope, and nothing really was done for them until they took their deliverance into their own hands, and declared that they would no longer submit to the shame and misery of their condition. Reformed drunkards went everywhere preaching the year of release to the captives of intemperance, and their labors were attended with great success. They knew how to pity and persuade those who remained in the wretchedness from which themselves had escaped. Their labors for a time were wonderfully energetic, and wonderfully successful. We have heard much less of them this year than last, but we hope it is not because the vigor of the effort has been relaxed. There have been some things about the movements of the reformed drunkards, which have made us to doubt of the stability of their work, though we have hoped for the best, and done what we could to cheer them on.

In the first place, we have noticed in almost all the speeches of reformed drunkards, a great want of the humility and repentance which ought to have characterized their new position. Many times they have in fact seemed to glory in their former shame, and to be proud in proportion to the number and extent of the revolting scenes in which they had been actors. A man who can repeat with glorying the beastly doings of his drunken days has attained but an outside reformation. No being on earth is more odiously guilty than a drunkard. His obligations to himself, to his family, to society, and to God, have all been broken,—trampled under foot. Look at the beast who goes home drunk at night to the society of a virtuous wife and his dependent children, to besmear the house with his filth, and perhaps to vent his wild passions on them in curses and blows. The only fit residence for such a being is hell; and to his appropriate destiny he is hastening. When such a man is mercifully rescued from his drunkenness, words of contrition and deep repentance become him. If his reformation extends to the heart, he will never repeat the history of his life but with deep shame, and only to warn others to avoid his guilt.

Another noticeable feature in the movements of the reformed drunkards is the abjuration of religious influences. If they had cast off sectarianism merely, their wisdom in that particular would not have been questioned. But when they reject, as they have, the teachings of Jesus Christ and the whole Bible, they commit a most dangerous mistake. There are nowhere to be found such lessons of temperance as in the Bible, and nowhere else are they enforced by such sanctions. Men who attempt to inculcate morality without the influence of religion, now that we have the

Bible, are behind the age. They practice quackery, after an infallible remedy has been discovered. If some of the reformed orators would sit down to the reading of the Bible, they would probably find that they have another reformation to go through with, before they can be safe. They will find that their hearts must be reformed, as well as their lives. Christian philanthropy it was, which devised the temperance reformation, and which, by the labors of twenty years, kindled and fed the sentiments of reformation that at length burst out so ardently. There are motives not connected with religion, which would seem sufficient to keep a man back from making a beast of himself; natural affection, a good name, the desire of wealth, or at least of personal comfort, are all powerful motives. But they lose nothing by being associated with religion. On the contrary, the Christian religion exhibits all these motives in their most attractive form, and by its own sanctions adds immeasurably to their force. Looking at the subject from any position, whether that of a Christian or a mere philosopher, we cannot help seeing that to reject the aid of religion in such an enterprise is to cast away our most efficient helper. But every Christian will feel that a temperance reformation which rejects the influence of religion is likely to be as shallow in its moral power as it is in its philosophy, and as transient as it is shallow.

The temperance books are, some of them, of a very improper character. They are recitals, it may be, of the incidents of a rowdy's life, through all the list of low vices. "The Inebriate" is a sample. Books of this class, if they were found in the hands of rowdies, and prepared for their amusement, would be considered most pernicious, by the people who now praise them if only labeled "Temperance." The vulgarity and pollution of Bulwer and Byron are justly deprecated, and cannot be sanctified by being enlisted in the cause of morality. Many persons visited the "great moral painting" of Adam and Eve, who would have applied to the police to suppress the monstrous exhibition, if it had been called what it really was. Yet the immoral effect of the exhibition was perhaps quite as great under its assumed as it would have been under its proper character. We cannot change the nature of poison by calling it bread.

BREACH OF THE SABBATH.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April* 25, 1834.]

It is with deep regret we have learned that Messrs. Webster and Binney prosecuted their journey from Philadelphia to Washington during the last Sabbath, and at Baltimore addressed a great number of citizens upon the political topics of the day. Both these gentlemen, and more particularly Mr. Webster, we have always delighted to honor. His greatness and patriotism, his intelligence, and we have always believed his reverence for religion, have fastened upon him our admiration and confidence. If we now mention our regret at the events of the last Sabbath, it is not for the purpose of lessening him in the public esteem, but to counteract, so far as we are able, the influence of a bad example, the more to be dreaded from such a man. We understand and appreciate the interest of affairs at Washington which urged Mr. Webster to violate his habits and his feelings on this occasion. But we do not see that any excuse can be pleaded for what occurred at Baltimore. We are fully convinced that it is only by maintaining a respectful public sentiment toward the institutions of religion, especially the Sabbath, that enough of public virtue and intelligence can be maintained to perpetuate our free institutions.

SABBATH-DAY TRAVELING.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 20, 1835.]

We are glad to see that the Directors of the Boston and Providence Railroad have discontinued their trips on Sunday, except one each way in connection with the steamboats. We wish their order had been without this exception, and that they had made the Sabbath thoroughly a day of rest. It would have been a noble example for all the railroads and canals of our country. The violation of that day upon these great lines of communication is among the most prolific causes of poverty and crime. We are fully persuaded that six days for labor and the seventh for rest, is an arrangement exactly fitted to our condition, and that no man who violates this arrangement can be so happy, and manage his affairs so well, as in its observance.

On railroads there is less apology for violating the Sabbath than exists almost everywhere else. Transmission is so rapid that six days are sufficient to send a man from Maine to Georgia. Passengers may go from Boston and Providence, or from Boston to Providence, on Monday morning before the hours of business

arrive, and in general it must be impossible to plead necessity, or even convenience, for breaking the rest of the Sabbath at all. We hope the very respectable men who have the direction of the matter, patriots and Christians as they are, will do their country the signal service of making their reform perfect.

CRYING NEWSPAPERS ON SUNDAY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 10, 1839.]

THERE is scarcely a greater public nuisance to which our citizens are subject, than the continual crying of newspapers by boys in the streets on Sunday. No part of the city is exempt from the annoyance. No hour of the day, from early dawn till mid-day and later. Even the hour of worship is invaded by the never-ceasing cry. We will say nothing of the immorality of the practice; nor of the probable consequences to the boys themselves, of being engaged in such employments on the Sabbath, instead of devoting the day to the purposes for which it was designed. We will not speak of the probable effect of such reading on the Sabbath as by this process is thrust upon thousands of persons, old and young. All these, however, are important considerations, and if duly weighed, could not fail to produce a strong sensation in the community. But our object now is of a different kind. We wish to show that independent of any such considerations, our citizens are wronged and abused by the incessant noise and outcry with which the vending of newspapers is accompanied on the Sabbath. Throughout the Christian world, this day is regarded as consecrated by the Almighty to the purposes of religion. It is also considered, in its influence, a most important conservator of the public morals. Without the Sabbath, we may safely say that a republican government could not long exist. Legislators have been aware of the tendency of the day to promote the best interests of society, and accordingly they have guarded it with the sanctions of law. They have done this also, to protect the rights of worship, and the private enjoyment of the day, by those who are disposed to devote it to its appropriate duties. A continual noise in the streets, when unnecessary, is an invasion of these rights and this enjoyment. The laws indeed would go further. They prohibit buying and selling on the Sabbath, except in particular cases, of which the selling of newspapers is not one. Now it appears to us, that if the proprietors of newspapers are suffered thus to violate the laws, they ought at least to be

restrained, both by their own sense of propriety and by the arm of the law if needful, from encroaching upon the peace of their fellow-citizens by sending a thousand boys to fill the streets with confusion. It is a liberal compromise in their favor to wink at the hawking of newspapers through the streets on the Sabbath, and at the same time to insist upon its being done, if at all, in silence.

The evil complained of is of recent origin, and it is high time it was abated. If the distributors of tracts (pardon the supposition) were equally noisy in performing their duties, they would not be tolerated for an hour. No, the very men who abet the noise of a thousand boys in the distribution of newspapers would be scandalized by such a gross infringement upon their rights.

CLOSING STORES ON THE SABBATH.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, June* 28, 1844.]

THE laws requiring a proper observance of the Christian Sabbath are good and wholesome laws, in accordance with the wishes of a vast majority of the people, and necessary to the highest welfare of the community. In a republican government, especially, the public safety demands that moral influences should be promoted and the avenues of vice obstructed. All experience proves that there can be no well regulated liberty where the public morals are generally depraved, and that about in proportion as the Sabbath is disregarded in any community, is the depravation of its morals. Laying aside, therefore, the sanctions of the Divine Law, which, over a Christian people, ought to be paramount, the public safety demands that at least a decent respect should be paid to the day which ninety-nine hundredths of the Christian world are agreed in regarding as the Lord's day, or Sabbath of the new dispensation. The fact that a few thousand Jews are included in the number of our citizens is no good reason why as many millions of other denominations should be denied the quiet enjoyment of a day which they regard as divinely appointed, or permit it, as in France, during the reign of terror, to be blotted from the statute-book. On the same principle, if there were a few thousand Mahometans among us, we might not enact laws against polygamy, because thereby we might be trenching upon the rights of conscience of a portion of the people who believed in the Koran. In vain should we plead that polygamy was forbidden by the Christian religion, which was the religion of the

vast majority of the people, or that it was hurtful to public morals and the general weal; the *consciences* of these few Mahometans must be protected at every hazard, for, in the language of our correspondent, "the laws of this great nation extend to every man the enjoyment of his religion." To compel a man to do a positive act in violation of his conscience, is one thing; to compel him to *omit* certain acts, which from the nature of the case are not obligatory upon his conscience, is another. We never heard it intimated that a Jew's conscience was wounded by *not* selling goods publicly on the Lord's day, or that a grog-shop keeper's conscience suffered from not selling liquor on that day. We sincerely respect the conscientious belief of any and every man in matters of religion, however erroneous that belief may be; (in this category we place our Jewish brethren;) but when men's consciences are clamorous for breaking the laws both of God and man, and for destroying both the bodies and the souls of men, not six days in the week only, but seven, (we here allude to grog-sellers,) we think it time to ask what is their definition of conscience, and whether they have not confounded it with the will, which is the very thing that requires to be restrained when it inclines to mischief.

It is worthy of remark that the opposition to Mayor Harper's course in regard to Sunday buying and selling does not come chiefly, if at all, from the Jews, but from the grog-sellers; to many of whom Sunday has hitherto been the *best day* in the week. That is, they have sold more liquor on that day than on any other. What a comment is this upon the extent of the mischief which has resulted from permitting grog-shops to be opened on the Sabbath! How many families have suffered for want of bread, who might otherwise have had enough and to spare! How much demoralization has ensued, how many crimes have been committed, in consequence of this pernicious custom! Most laboring men receive their weekly earnings on Saturday night: and consequently, Sunday is the very day for the grog-dealers to catch them with a little money in their pockets. It hurts their consciences prodigiously to be deprived of the opportunity to have the first access to these hard earnings. We advise them to rest satisfied with six days in the week for the administering of poison to their patients, and then sending them to destruction, and their families to the Alms House, to be supported at the public expense.

"ACKNOWLEDGING GOD"

[*From the Journal of Commerce, September* 15, 1845.]

It is agreeable to the taste of some Americans to pronounce their country an atheistical and "God-rejecting" country, because the Constitution of the Union says nothing upon the subject. There are some also, generally of the "pre-millennial" school, who lay the same charge upon our ancestors, because in forming the Constitution they neglected to assert the dignity of Jesus Christ as "Prince of the kings of the earth," and to determine the question of the Trinity. All such men forget, or never learned, that the province of civil government is not to determine religious questions, and that while it is the duty and privilege of every man to acknowledge God in all his ways, it does not follow that every soulless corporation should do the same. In Roman Catholic countries nothing can be done without a "By the Grace of God." In that high and lofty name all abominations are perpetrated, whether by the Church or State, or smaller companies of priests or banditti. The robber on the highway is sure to act in the name of the Trinity, and to pronounce the blessing in the name of the Son on his victim as he goes off; a blessing, by the way, quite as rich in virtue as many which come with consecrated hands uplifted. A board of bank directtors are not to be charged with infidelity because their charter says nothing about religion, nor because their meetings for discounting notes are not opened with prayer. Religion is a personal matter, and not a matter of governments, unless they are corporations for religious purposes. On this plan we secure the invaluable privilege of religious freedom. The nominal religion of the State is much reduced, but the real religion of the people is greatly enlarged. Many good people are quite troubled about the want of religion in the *State*. But they need not be; for it is on the principle which is fundamental to the vigor of true religion. The design of government is to secure the peaceful enjoyment of private rights. The Deist, Atheist, Catholic, Protestant and Mormon, are all equal in the cognizance of law. They are all entitled to examine, believe, and teach, as they think proper. The civil government knows nothing of religious distinctions, and in fact nothing of religious faith. In oaths alone it brings in the use of religion, and in that it does not assume the power to coerce any one's conscience, but takes the Quaker's affirmation as just as valid as his oath. If the principle which lies at the bottom of religious liberty were carried out to the extent of abolishing oaths altogether, the credibility of witnesses and the honesty of judges and importers would not

in all probability be thereby impaired. It is liberty, not government, which all the lovers of truth should desire. The interference of government has never done anything yet, but to deform religious truth, while liberty has made its stream flow peacefully and broadly through the land.

The patriots of the Revolution were not a godless race of men, though they did not think it expedient to say much upon the subject in forming the fundamental law. The work was not done without the constant recognition of Jehovah, and much prayer for his guidance.

A NATIONAL BUTCHERY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 30, 1841.]

We have been thinking of the matter of supplying all the people in the United States with meats, and it seems to us that it is one which deserves the attention of the National Government. The subject is of vast importance, and is now utterly at loose ends. The supply is left to the mere volition of drovers, entirely irresponsible to anybody, so that every citizen in this city, and every other city, is left without the least assurance that his supply may not be cut off at any moment. We have got along under our present system, or we might more properly say, total want of system, better than might have been expected, and much better than, we fear, will be the case hereafter. But there are now great wrongs which cry aloud for a remedy. There is not a little meat of old cows which is attempted to be palmed off for good ox beef; measly hogs are put up as good pork; animals which are diseased and even which die of themselves, it may be of hydrophobia, are dressed, and "blowed up," and sold for good and wholesome viands. It is even stated on good authority, that there are regular sausage-makers who supply themselves with raw material from the worn-out horses which the omnibus owners turn off to die, and the small bits of woolen cloth which are found on the tailors' shop-floors or the old clothes bought by Jew peddlers. It has even been stated, and many judicious people believe it, that cats have been sold in the market for rabbits, and dog meat for venison. What else could be expected while Tom, Dick and Harry are allowed to issue beef, pork, and mutton at their pleasure? The ignorant poor are the severest sufferers by this Locofoco way of doing things; for they, having less knowledge and less power, are always made the prey of the crafty. If things go on in this way—and they will unless the government interferes—there is no telling what frightful evils

may come upon us. Suppose, for instance, and the thing is not at all impossible, that some drover from the west, with his flock of cattle filling all the road, should fall upon a kennel of rabid wolves or dogs, which flying upon the cattle, should inoculate the whole herd with the deadly virus of their fangs. Would the drover ever tell of the incident? Not he. On the contrary, he would hurry his cattle on to the Bull's Head where, foaming with fatigue and madness, they would be sold to the butchers, and the next day the whole city would be unsuspectingly dining upon their flesh. What the final effect would be, we forbear to tell. Then suppose the drovers should, through mistake or design, drive all the cattle and sheep to New Orleans, under the influence of a momentary high price there, what would be the danger to all other parts of the country? As we go now, there is plainly no certainty that there will be any butchers or drovers. Indeed everything is entirely uncertain, fluctuating, frightfully irregular, and irresponsible.

Now if government is not designed to provide for such an emergency as this, we ask what in the world it is designed for? This matter takes hold of the very life and existence of the people. If the people all starve to death for the want of meat, or are poisoned to death with bad meat, there will be little for government to do afterward. It is with these views, after the little reflection we have given to the subject, that we have determined to lend our feeble efforts toward the establishment of a NATIONAL BUTCHERY, to regulate this whole matter. That Congress has the power to establish such an institution, there can be no doubt. We argue the existence of this power in Congress from the following considerations.

1st. It is impossible that the wise and benevolent men who framed the Constitution, could have forgotten or neglected so important a matter as this, especially as they had just emerged from a war during which there had been one continued series of derangements and disorders in the supply of meats, so that even the American army were sometimes totally destitute. They were also reminded, during their deliberations, every day at dinner, of the absolute necessity of meats for the support of legislation.

2d. But there is no need of relying upon this argument. The framers of the Constitution did not fail to place in that instrument the requisite power. They gave to Congress the power to "regulate commerce among the several States," and what we propose is only the regulation of a portion of that commerce. The power to "fix the standard of weights and measures," includes what we contend for by the most natural and necessary inference. No one will doubt that these weights were designed to weigh meat; but

in order that meat should be weighed, meat must be had, and a national butchery is the only sure way of securing this end. A law, therefore, for this purpose, would come under the authority to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers."

As to the plan and structure of the national butchery, we would make it just like a national bank. There should be a mother butchery in the city of New York, with branches in all the States; and we would copy from the laws of New York the plan of commissioners, whose business it should be to examine, once a year at least, and as much oftener as they please, each branch butchery and each flock of cattle. There should be subordinate commissioners, who should extend the system in its perfection over all the States, so that a complete record should be kept of every calf, lamb, pig, chicken, and gosling, which should be added to the stock; which returns, being all brought together at the mother butchery and then published every month, would constitute a basis of calculation, like the statements of specie in the bank vaults. The growth and supply of meats under such a system, would be something tangible. Cattle would then be more evenly distributed than they are at present; for the reports of the branches would always be a sure guide in this respect.

In order to establish this system in its most extended benefits, it will be obviously proper to prohibit all private slaughter-houses; for we cannot too earnestly urge upon our readers the great danger there is of fraud and deception, when trusts so important are left to be exercised by private and irresponsible individuals. We shall never have a well regulated meat market throughout the country, until our plan is adopted. This is the newest American system, and certainly the most important of all measures of this class; for in its benign operation, it will distribute good beef, good mutton, good turkeys, good everything, in fact, through all the garrets and cellars of poverty as well as in the palaces of the rich. The details of the matter will furnish an exhaustless fund for reports and speeches in Congress and the State Legislatures. Parties will be formed under its banner, which will shake the nation to its center, and make us President of the United States. But for this we care not a rush—our object being solely the good of the people in all the largest sense of that term.

Every body will see what we mean by this rigmarole. It is not to throw derision on the opinion that regulation is necessary in currency. Yet, in all soberness, we have no doubt that regulation is quite as much wanted in meats as in money; and that if only we had been brought up under a system of regulation re-

specting food, we should have thought the arguments used above quite conclusive in the case, and should have been more afraid to trust free trade for beef than we now are for currency. In either case, great regulating establishments would produce endless mischief, and as the effort at regulation is utterly wrong and pernicious, it can never itself be regulated or modified so as to possess any other character.

VOTE YOURSELF A FARM.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April* 28, 1847.]

Every American citizen owns a farm in the wild lands of the nation. He owns his proportion of the common domain, and has a right to it. It may be it is an hundred acres; it may be one acre. Whatever his proportion is, it belongs to him. But there is this about it: The inheritance is not divided so that the farm of each one in particular exists in a separate estate, and it will not do for one to go and take possession of his farm, and still claim his old right among the proprietors in common. But he is a citizen, and cannot be excluded, nor exclude himself, from the benefits of common ownership. The nation makes all this right by selling the land. They who wish to take actual possession of farms pay into the common property a certain small sum of money, which goes for the common benefit. They who buy farms in this way, and have money, still retain their interest as before in the common property, and become owners in particular of what they buy. They who do not wish for farms in this way get their proportion of the whole. If ten men own a stock of merchandise in copartnership, it will not do for one partner to say, "I will take possession of that hogshead of sugar, and chest of tea, &c., for one-tenth is mine, and plainly I own them," while at the same time he continues to claim that he is an owner in common, and equally with the other nine, in all the remaining property. If he should desire it, the partnership might be dissolved, and after paying the common debts, he would be entitled to his tenth of what remained. But our national copartnership cannot be dissolved, nor are our common debts in any rapid course of payment. We must maintain our common ownership, and must hold the property in common, or expend the proceeds of it for the common benefit. Is not that fair? Then what honest man will talk of *voting* himself a farm?

There is one thing in which national reform is wanted in

the direction of these reformers. It is right that society should refuse to embarrass itself by protecting the ill-shapen and injurious contracts of individuals against the common good, and especially the vast accumulations of soulless, deathless corporations, and most of all, religious corporations. What society agrees to do, it should do, though to its hurt. But it is under no *natural* obligation to defend the manor leases, or the hundred year leases in this city, nor the accumulations of religious societies which blight the land. Society engaged to defend the manor leases, and should keep its engagement at all hazards. Our State has declared that it will not hereafter be responsible for such leases on "agricultural" lands. But such leases are worse in cities than elsewhere, and ought to be put out of the protection of the law as much here as in the country. Our city suffers immensely by the parsimony of old hunkers, who would carry their deeds with them to eternity, and clutch them there with the grasp of agony. Some large and beautiful sections of our city are almost ruined by this miserable policy of never selling. The State should set its face against it; at least, it should withdraw its support from it, and should cease to protect church property beyond the immediate uses of the society to which it belongs. A church of Christ, owning a million of dollars' worth of land, or half that sum in land or money, is a monster, and will be, if it is not already, a curse to religion and society. It is wrong for society to nourish and protect such sores on the body politic. We speak not of the past, but of the future. Old sores must remain, but new ones should be prevented. These ideas all national reformers should advocate, not the foolish doctrine that the accumulations of individuals shall be limited, either in money or land. The injury will be much greater than the benefit, from such restrictions. Honest industry will best promote the public good by accumulating as it can; and without the entailment of perpetual leases, there is no danger from such accumulations. Every father who is so unwise as to accumulate vast estates is pretty sure to be followed by sons or grandsons who will scatter faster than he has gathered. There is no enduring evil here. The danger is in the other sources which we have pointed out, viz., long leases of estates instead of sales, and especially the leases and the accumulations of corporations, and above all, of religious corporations, which go on to accumulate interminably, never dying, and never therefore falling into the hands of distributors. Our country is growing in wealth,—we hope not in religious superstitions. But it is high time that we put a stop to the tendencies toward an overgrown religious aris-

tocracy, like that of England or Mexico, where the people are tasked and fleeced into poverty, that wealth enormous may be gathered into the hands of a clergy debased as much by wealth as the people are by poverty.

TRADES' UNIONS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April 7*, 1835.]

THE Transcript misunderstands our reference to England as exhibiting the practical remedy for turn-outs. We do not refer to her laws, but to her free principles. Laws against turn-outs and combinations, England tried and found unavailing. The enlightened policy of Mr. Huskisson repealed all those laws, and left the whole matter to the care of individuals and public opinion. The result was, that combinations became so arbitrary, as not only to place all journeymen in the most absolute slavery to the most tyrannical government ever yet established, but to threaten the utter ruin of both the employers and employed. This brought the employers to a stand, and they were obliged individually to determine to employ no workmen who *belonged* to the Unions. The business of turning out has consequently changed sides, and the operation of the present state of things must be to break up the Unions;—a blessing most devoutly to be desired, chiefly for the sake of the workmen themselves. The results in this free country, where no laws have ever been made on the subject, will be more speedily attained. The Unions have already lost their popularity with a large proportion of the journeymen. Is it to be admitted for a moment that a system of tyranny so cruel as the Unions adopt, shall flourish here? A system by which the premises of employers are entered without right, and sober and peaceable men *forced* from the honest labors by which they support their families, and *compelled* to march like conscript militia through the streets under the command of some foreigner who has come here to assert the rights of American citizens? A system whose grand engine is *fear*—fear of outlawry, of vexation, nay, of midnight maimings and assassination. We have an instructive specimen of the temper of these associations and the means they use to accomplish their purposes, in a resolution passed by one of them the other day, recommending that the fire companies should not lend their aid to extinguish fires, in houses built of State-Prison marble. We must employ these men to build our houses at any wages they choose to decree, and of the materials

which they select, or submit to have them burned over our heads at midnight. We shall see about that.

We are glad when labor is richly rewarded. There are no men who better deserve to grow rich than mechanics. There are none who are more sure of success when they take the measures to secure it which every man must take. The wealth, the offices and the honors of our country are as free and as open to them as to any other class of our citizens; and no other class have received them more liberally. There are no expenses of our own establishment which we pay more cheerfully than the wages of labor; and if by the process of demand, the only one which can sustain the price of anything, wages should be raised to double their present rates, we should pay them freely. But while there remains a drop of American blood in our veins, we will never combine with any other persons to depress the price of labor, nor submit to the dictation of any combination as to the prices we shall pay.

TRADES' UNIONS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April* 10, 1835.]

THE Transcript says it is only a "reasonable" compensation that the journeymen seek to establish. Suppose then that we should adopt the plan of the Unions, and call together the members of each separate interest to establish for its goods, wares and labors, what it deems a "reasonable" price or rate of profits. We dare say the Lawyers and Doctors and Clergymen would all think it "reasonable" to put the price of their labors up, at least one-half. We know that the importers and jobbers of dry goods, and the grocers, consider their rates of profit in general quite too low. The broker's quarter per cents. are a mere bagatelle compared with what they should be, and as to the money-lenders, they let us know what they considered "reasonable" in the panic winter before last. Ten to one, after the vote had been taken all round, the mechanics would find the general scale raised so high, that their relative position would be quite as un-"reasonable" as it was before they interfered with the natural order of things.

The fact is that a way has been provided by a higher Power for ascertaining what is "reasonable" in these matters. Principles have been laid deep in the arrangement of things, and they are very apt to fall into difficulties who undertake to contend with these principles. Supply and demand arrange prices "rea-

sonably" and usefully, and peacefully with all. Let us have "Free Trade and no Combinations."

We might go on to speak of the most unreasonable copartnerships which the Unions create, by which the best men are obliged to divide even with the poorest; we could speak of porter-house lists which grow out of these combinations, by which every journeyman is obliged to submit to the degradation of having his name posted up in a tap-house, and wait until his turn comes before he can be employed. Such is the degrading tyranny of Trades' Unions. They subdue the moral sense, the self-respect, the happiness, the interests of all who will submit to them.

LABORERS AND EMPLOYERS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 1, 1835.]

NOTHING was ever more thorough cant, than the talk about oppressing the poor by employing laborers at the current rate of wages. And nothing in principle is more wicked or dangerous, than the doctrine that laborers thus employed have a *right* to a portion of the property of those who employ them, beyond the stipulated amount of wages. Such a sentiment subjects property to a common distribution at a blow. It takes away the inducements to industry and frugality, and would bring the whole of society to one indiscriminate mass of poverty and wretchedness. The man who agrees to labor for a dollar a day, and when he has performed the labor receives his dollar, has received all that is due; and he has no more ground for complaint than his employers; provided always that there is no combination among employers to depress the price of labor. To teach a different doctrine, is as cruel toward the laboring classes, as it is prejudicial to society in general. It makes them discontented and unhappy,—and induces them to desert the straight road to comfort by industry and economy, and to put their trust in agitations and turnouts, means by which no trade ever was or ever will be permanently benefited.

INDUSTRY AND ECONOMY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, March* 11, 1836.]

A WRITER in the *Post* thinks our prescription for the evils in the condition of the laboring classes, a good one so far as it goes, but inadequate to procure a thorough cure without the additional item of the suppression of paper money. We tell the writer, frankly, that we claim no credit as inventors of this remedy. It is an old recipe which we found in our grandfather's scrap-book, where it was copied from an essay of Doctor Franklin. The original author the writer well recollects to have heard of, though he is not much imbued with his spirit. The Doctor was a very poor printer's boy, but by the thorough use of this simple prescription, he rose above all the evils of his condition, and made himself of such usefulness to his country, that his name will be honored by Americans in all ages. One of his adjunct rules was, "time is money." So he never "struck," and spent his time parading the streets with a flag. But he kept busy. If he could not get one price, he took another; and spent *all* his time in earning something, and then took care of what he earned. Neither time nor money with him were wasted, not even a groat or an hour; for his motto with regard to both was—

> "A penny saved is twopence clear,
> A pin a day is a groat a year."

The remedy prescribed in the *Post* belongs to another school altogether. Those who take Dr. Franklin's remedy find it quite sufficient; and those who take the *Post's* will seldom be inclined to take the Doctor's with sufficient thoroughness. This remedy of Dr. F.'s must absolutely be taken clear, and without any mixture of other ingredients. We know hundreds and thousands of men who have taken it, and with perfect success; and they are now the very men who own the city. The same way is open to all who have no other capital than their hands and a good character. Never was the way to wealth so broad and easy as here. They who start early in it, before expenses accumulate on them, and use Franklin's remedy freely, we will guarantee without a premium, that nine out of ten of them, will enjoy a comfortable living, and leave estates behind them. But we are sure the road to wealth does not lie through Trades' Unions. They always have cost more than they have come to, and always will. So we adhere to our old prescription of industry and economy, as the best remedy for the evils of which the laboring classes complain. If this does not work a cure, the case is hopeless—the patient is incurable.

BROOMSTICK STRIKES.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, June* 23, 1835.]

THE system of strikes is full of evil for males, but it is horrible for females. Mr. Carey has long been troubled with the miserable condition of things in this country, and his remedy is always the same in principle, whether it be called Tariff or Turn-out. He mourns over the wretched condition of our manufacturing interests, and one of the chief ingredients in this cup of wretchedness is the *high price* of labor in this country; and anon, he is equally distressed at the cruelly oppressed condition of our laboring classes, because the rate of compensation is so very *low*. The whole course of Mr. Carey on all these matters, both as to disease and remedy, is one of utter delusion and folly. This community is the most healthy in its business of any in the world, and if it were sick, his lobelia would only make it sicker. There is no country whose population, of all classes, is so abundantly supplied with all the comforts of life. Ninety-nine hundredths of all which is said about the depressed condition of females and their labor, is mere croaking about nothing, let who will say it. If a few aged persons whose sight or other faculties have failed, or a few younger persons, whose faculties have never been instructed, are able to earn but a pittance, it is not strange that such persons should make coarse cotton "*shirts for a shilling a-piece!!*" and what of it? That shilling will buy almost enough of the cloth to make a shirt. Who does not know how extremely difficult it is to procure female labor for domestic purposes, at any price, and who does not know that when such females make their appearance abroad, it is in silks and muslins so rich and tasty, that there is no distinguishing the maid from the mistress? If they all rode in coaches, when they went abroad, we should not complain; but it is indeed most ridiculous to be prating about their distressed condition. The wages of female labor are not only higher in this country than in any other, but they are as to all practical purposes four times higher now than they were thirty years ago. At the beginning of this century, fifty cents a week was a common price for female labor, and fifty cents then was, for their use, not worth so much as twenty-five cents now. Then, the wages of a month would not buy so much calico as the wages of a week will buy now, and as to silks, and laces, and capes, and pelerines, they were not named or thought of. Now, many a woman is able by the labor of her hands alone, to clothe herself not only neatly but genteelly, nay, elegantly, and lay up a sum of money annually, which, if pursued for twenty years, would give her a capital more effective

than nine-tenths of the farmers in New England have been able to acquire during their lives. If there are females, who, from want of faculties, or loss of faculties, or bad husbands, or numerous children, are really unable to procure the comforts of life, let us look to it and supply their wants. But, in the midst of the bounties which Providence pours upon all classes in overflowing abundance, let us not spend in complaints the breath which ought to be spent in gratitude, or pour out our philanthropy in dolorous words, breeding discontent. Those who hunt for oppression must be hard pushed, if they can find it exercised only by those who offer work at low prices, leaving others at full liberty to assume the oppression or let it alone. Honorable men and reverend divines might be much better employed than in preaching uneasiness and ill-will from such a text. Still worse is it in them, to speak in such a way as to throw the mantle of sympathy or excuse over vicious courses. Very few indeed among the abandoned women in the United States can plead poverty in its direct pressure as an excuse or a motive for their wickedness.

The superior prosperity of our country is attributable to the superior liberty of its citizens—to the more full operation of God's system of free trade among us. If Mr. Carey will change his complaints to thankfulness, and give up his notion of being wiser than the Author of systems, and cease to fight against the arrangements of free individual action, by which He has provided for the highest possible remuneration for labor, Mr. Carey will then find his own mind happier, and his labors producing more happiness in others. But if he thinks otherwise, let him try still longer to stem the stream which has already carried him far downward; he will find its current beyond his control whoever may come to his aid.

FEMALE WAGES.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, March* 7, 1839.]

"We advise the seamstresses *in each ward*, to open a store or hire a room, to offer to make coats, waistcoats, and pantaloons at a fixed price; and we advise benevolent ladies and gentlemen to have the stuff purchased for their use, cut out, and carry it to these Ward Depots, and encourage these poor seamstresses. It would be a great charity."—*Eve. Star.*

The above is from a long article in the Star, which is chiefly occupied in setting forth the miserable condition of seamstresses. When advice is given to the distressed, it should be such as will

afford permanent relief. The expedient which the Star proposes has been tried to some little extent, and found, we believe, only a new contrivance for depriving honest women of the little which still remained to them. Such shops will seldom be under the care of persons to be trusted; and if they were, they must get their support from the labor of those for whom they do business. They cannot increase the wages of the seamstresses. There is no relief to the poor as a class, in transferring work from those who have it, to those who have it not; and to do so by means of an intermediate house which shall effectually cut off all direct intercourse between the employers and the employed, is doing great mischief. The acquaintanceship which the various wants of the community bring about, when left to its ordinary channels, is of immense importance to the rich and the poor. To cut off this intercourse is to deprive the poor of their best resource in extremity. There is no permanent remedy in the case, better than the straightforward operations of free trade. Many women, no doubt, cannot well do anything else than use their needles where they are. But the great mass of the seamstresses can change their local habitation and their business, and there is surely in this country no great difficulty in such persons getting an honest living. We should be glad, with regard to every individual woman, that she had a parlor at her command; but all women cannot spend their time in parlors, and it would be very unwise in the community to attempt by charitable efforts, to undertake to change the order of things so as to bring about such an universal parloring. Equally unwise is the endeavor to sustain an undue proportion of persons in *any* particular condition because that condition is more genteel than other conditions. This, we suppose, is the true secret of the distress among seamstresses. There is much less, if there is any distress at all, among cooks, chambermaids, and laundresses; and we suppose, too, that toward these latter classes there is quite as substantial a feeling of respect as toward seamstresses. But sewing has the most of that fascinating, nondescript sort of a thing about it, called *gentility*, and for the love of that, thousands have gone half starved and without a second dress, when if they would only have parted with gentility, they might have had an abundance of everything else, and really a better reputation into the bargain. This mania for gentility is one of the weaknesses of human nature which pervades all classes of the community. To support gentility, multitudes live forever in debt, and subject themselves to the incessant torment of duns and sheriffs, almost as much to be dreaded as the frogs of Egypt. They are much the wisest who go for ungenteel but honest comfort and contentment. Want would soon flee from

the seamstresses if only gentility were turned out of the house, and contentment with the allotments of Providence taken home in its place. Virtue and happiness would then be much more securely possessed, and so would a really good reputation. We know of no other thorough working remedy in the case. After all, if persons are involved in difficulty and want, they should be helped; but the help should always be accompanied with such good counsel as will, if possible, enable them to keep out. These remarks apply chiefly to young, unmarried females. Women who have families of hungry or sick children, who are widows, or what is incomparably worse, have husbands who are drunkards, are chained to poverty, do what they will, and ought to be regarded with especial compassion. But, even with them, good advice is often what they need most.

THE PICTURES AND THE PUBLIC TASTE.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 31, 1833.]

It is very well that the papers have opened a battery against the indelicate exhibitions in the windows of print-shops. Let them keep up the fire until all such windows are smashed to atoms *in public estimation,* and until no decent person will enter a place the external attractions of which are indecent. But there is another and deeper evil to be cured than this. It is the want of correct principles in the formation and guidance of the public taste. What are the rules which regulate and limit exhibitions of this sort? With the public generally, there are none. This want of all metes and bounds has left us to run into the wildest extremes of inconsistency, and made us objects of the surprise and laughter of other nations. One declares that the short dresses of fashionable ladies, a few weeks ago, were immodest and ridiculous; another, with perhaps equally honest intentions, runs upon the French doctrine of "evil to him who evil thinks." The one will hardly permit the common display of the human form; while the other, or perhaps the same, upon a different occasion, and under different circumstances, acts upon a rule which has no stopping-place short of making all apparel a mere matter of individual taste, governed by no abstract and independent rules. When the French dancers, with tight pantaloons and kilts, kicked up their heels on the boards of the theaters, the virtuous and thinking part of the community cried out that it was an outrage upon all decency. And so it was. When those innocent babies, the chanting cherubs, were exhibited, they could hardly be

looked at but through fan-sticks. But when an ingenious artist exhibited a whiskered hussar, with a beautiful Parisian courtesan at his side, elegantly painted in native nakedness, and called them Adam and Eve!! husbands took their wives, and mothers took their daughters, and lovers took their sweethearts, and ladies and gentlemen who were not lovers, young and old, thronged to see it. Even benevolent individuals asked that, as a boon, the picture might be exhibited for the benefit of their favorite religious and moral charities. And so the better feelings were enlisted to bring out all to view a picture decidedly more objectionable than the worst picture at any print-shop window in the city. Public sentiment must be anchored to some well settled and immovable principles on this subject, such as it has not now, or we shall float out upon a practice which is without a shore. The subject is one of great interest and some difficulty.

THE GREEK SLAVE.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, October* 13, 1847.]

WHETHER names change things in reality or not, they change the idea in people's minds very much. We had a French soldier and a Parisian courtesan exhibited here some years ago, under the name of Adam and Eve; and it was quite fashionable to visit the exhibition. But if the picture had been called by its right name, it would have had a very different reception. Yet the thing really was the Frenchman and courtesan, and nothing else in the world, not even clothing. People have come under so strong an impression that civilization demands that the human form should be covered, and that only barbarians practice otherwise, that to countenance anything else is felt to be a barbaric degradation. In an article by Rev. Orville Dewey, on "Powers' Greek Slave," in Mrs. C. M. Kirkland's Union Magazine, the writer says:—

"According to the true laws of art, can that be right in a statue which would be wrong, improper, disgusting, in real life? Art proposes the representation of something that exists, or may properly and beautifully exist, in real life. And I doubt whether statuary or painting have any more business to depart from that rule than poetry. Suppose that an epic poem, for the sake of hightening the charms and attractions of its heroine, should describe her as walking about naked! could it be endured? Nor any more do I believe that sculpture, without some urgent cause, should take a similar liberty. A draperied statue can answer all the ordinary purposes for a work of art. Witness Canova's Hebe; and the Polymnia in the Louvre, an ancient work. And I doubt not that ancient art would have given us more examples of this, if the

moral delicacy had been equal to the genius that inspired it. I trust that Christian refinement, breaking away from the trammels of the antique, will supply the deficiency."

This seems reasonable, and the reasoning and the conclusions such as might be expected from an eminent clergyman. It accords, we have no doubt, with the first impression of every one. To see the form of a young girl stand erect before one, without so much as the garment of a fig leaf to cover her, is shocking at the first impression. Every unused mind must be pained, and feel that it is wrong to be there.

We expected, after such preliminary remarks, to find Dr. Dewey condemning Powers' statue of the Slave in the strongest terms of a Christian father's disapprobation. But no such thing. His condemnation is turned to high praise by just a change of names and scenes,—the real fact remaining unchanged,—and he surprises us thus:—

"The Greek Slave is covered all over with sentiment, sheltered, protected by it from every profane eye. Brocade, cloth of gold, could not be a more complete protection than the vesture of holiness in which she stands. For what does she stand there? To be sold—to be sold to a Turkish harem. A perilous position to be chosen by an artist of high and virtuous intent. A perilous point for the artist, being a good man, to compass. What is it? The highest point in all art. To make the spiritual reign over the corporeal; to sink form in ideality. In this particular case, to make the appeal to the soul entirely control the appeal to sense; to make the exposure of this beautiful creature foil the base intent for which it is made; to create a loveliness such that it charms every eye, and yet that has no value for the slave-market, that has no more place there than if it were the loveliness of infancy; nay, that repels, chills, disarms the taste that would buy. And how complete is the success! I would fain assemble all the licentiousness in the world around this statue, to be instructed, rebuked, disarmed, converted to purity by it!"

Bravo! Now we may hope to have the morals of our city renovated, and the libertines of Broadway renewed to chastity by looking on this marble. That "vesture of holiness" must be quite transforming to men with whom virtue, modesty and innocence, are but a jest,—the things they joy to trample under foot. But we doubt very much whether the spectators generally perceive any such vesture. We certainly did not see it, but in truth we felt so much ashamed to be there at all, that we did not perhaps see all that was to be seen. We certainly felt most deeply that to have gone there except on a professional visit,—to have gone there to *see* that nude female,—would have been a degradation. According to a very favorable notice of the statue which appeared

in the Tribune, this "vesture of holiness" is very seldom seen. Says the writer:—

"We heard a gentleman yesterday expressing his delight in the highest terms, after visiting the Slave. 'I never, in my life,' said he in the most emphatic manner, 'saw a piece of marble with such a beautiful polish.'

"Some very nice people who visit the Slave can see nothing but its nudeness; others object to the revolving pedestal, while one critic could see nothing but the drapery on the wall. *Not one in a thousand appears to have a perception of the marvelous truth and purity with which the statue is clothed*, or the characterization and majestic simplicity of the design. This cannot be wondered at. There are but few who have an intuitive perception of the *true objects of art*."

After such testimony in confirmation of our own non-observance, we cannot help thinking that the idea of Dr. Dewey is mere poetry, with no fact at all for its foundation, and that his plan of purifying voluptuaries by gathering them around the statue, is also mere poetry; and that the faithful preaching of the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ would be a much more hopeful remedy for their viciousness, if indeed there is hope for it from remedies provided by either God or man.

There is another stage in this process of poetic holiness which has attracted our notice. It is the representation of Statuary by living persons. This is not a new thing altogether, for children sometimes play in this way; but it is new in New York as a public exhibition, just as it is now brought forward. In the exhibition which we witnessed, the first part was performed by men and women dressed in a tight knit silk, of the color of white marble, the faces so prepared as to have the same appearance, and then more or less drapery was added, of thin muslin. It did not require a very powerful effort of imagination to apprehend the forms as real marble; in fact, it required some acquaintance with "art" to have any other impression. The Greek Slave was actually personified in this way, though not without the addition of a flounce around the loins, and even then some of the audience hissed, which seemed to us very foolish, for we were not there to be prudish. We perceived, by the talk around us, that the delicate drapery was the objection in part, for it was thought by some that this alone suggested the idea of immodesty, and but for it, the exhibition would have been unobjectionable.

In the next scene the light marble dresses were exchanged for those of flesh-color; the arms of the females bare, and their faces, hair, &c., presented in real life. Here again there was delicate drapery of muslin, crimson taffeta, &c.; enough, at least, as in the case of the representation of the Greek Slave, *to start*

the question of modesty. The male figures were dressed in a similar way; but the community are so accustomed to see the figures of men distinctly traced in their common dress, that no strong query would be likely to arise about the propriety of this part of the show. But the thought has forced itself upon us, that having poetized naked art into the most impressive modesty, if we could poetize naked nature (in the personification of art) into the same holiness, we should then have gone round the ring, and should have a galvanic battery of electric virtue before which voluptuousness must indeed be transformed into purity, and all improper thoughts be forever expelled from the mind. If the votaries of art and morality should come to this conclusion with such unanimity that any money could be made by it, we have no doubt that the experiment could easily be tried.

But it seems to us that a plain statement of the manner in which this Slave was got up must divest it of its virtue of holiness in the minds of some people. It is called "The Greek Slave." But no Greek Slave had anything to do with its formation. That name is assumed to excuse what otherwise would be nothing but a burning insult to the city. But for this, the exhibition would be only pronouncing us a community of barbarians. It seems to us that the way in which the thing is done will not be very satisfactory to the ladies, or even the gentlemen of our city, whose sensitiveness has not been seared as consciences are sometimes. We have the account in the letter of a friend to the artist, who seems to be familiar with the whole matter, as follows:—

"THE PROCESS OF THE SCULPTOR.—From a paper in the Literary World, signed G. H. Calvert, we extract the following account of the method in which statues are wrought from the block of marble:—

"The conception being matured in the artist's mind, the first step in the process of giving form to it is to erect, on a firm pedestal, a skeleton of iron, whose hight, breadth and limbs are determined by the size and shape of the proposed statue. In this case it would be about five feet high, with branches, first at the shoulders, running down forward for the arms, then at the hips, to support a large mass of clay in the trunk, and thence divided in two for the legs. About this strong, simple frame is now roughly built, with wet clay, the pre-determined image. Rapidly is this molded into an approximation to the human form; and when the trunk, head and limbs, have been definitely shaped, then begins the close labor of the mind. The living models are summoned, and by their aid the surface is wrought to its last stage of finish. I say models, for to achieve adequately a high ideal, several are needed. Nature rarely centers in one individual all her gifts of corporeal beauty. For the Eve, Powers had more than a score of models.

"The modern Christian artist cannot be favored, as was the painter Zeuxis of old, to whom a Grecian city, that had ordered from him a picture of Helen, sent a number of its choicest maidens, that out of their various graces and beauties he might, as it were, extract one matchless

form For the 'Slave,' the character Powers had established in Florence, for purity and uprightness, obtained for him one model (who was not a professional sitter,) of such perfection of form as to furnish nearly all that he could derive from a model. With this breathing figure before him, and through his precise knowledge of the form and expression of every part of the human body, obtained from the study of nature and his own deep artistic intuitions, the clay under his hands gradually grew into life and assumed the elastic, vital look which no mere anatomical knowledge or craft of hand can give, but which is imparted by the genial sympathy with nature's living forms in alliance with a warm sensibility to the beautiful—qualities which crown and render effectual the other less elevated endowments for art. Thus, by the most minute manual labor, directed by those high and refined mental gifts, the clay model of the 'Slave' was wrought out; and there the artist's work ended—the creation was complete. The processes whereby it was now to be transferred to marble, though of a delicate, difficult kind, and requiring labor and time, are purely mechanical, and are performed, under the artist's direction, by uninspired hands.

"In order that the soft clay image be transformed into a harder substance, without suffering the slightest change in its surface, a mold is applied to it in the same way and with the same material as when a cast is taken of the living face or head, by means of semi-liquid plaster of Paris. The clay figure is entirely covered with this substance, from one to two or more inches thick, provision being made for taking off the arms, and for splitting the trunk after the plaster shall have hardened. The clay is then all taken out, the hollow mold is cleaned, and then refilled with semi-liquid plaster of Paris. When this, which now occupies entirely and minutely the place of the clay, has in its turn become hardened, the outside crust of plaster is broken from it, and then is laid bare an exact fac-simile of the original clay figure in hard, smooth plaster of Paris, capable of bearing the usage of the studio, and of receiving the many marks that are to guide the marble-cutters, whose work now begins.

"First comes the blocker-out, with his heavy mallet and coarse chisel, under whose rough blows the white block soon begins to grow into a rude likeness of humanity. Then, a finer workman, who loosens more of the folds that overlie the beaming image which the artist is bent on disclosing from the center of the marble. And finally, the artist himself, or, as in this case, a refined worker, schooled under the eye of Powers, gives the finishing touches, reproducing with unsurpassed accuracy, in the transparent, pure marble, every swell and indentation and minute curve, all the countless delicacies of detail, the which combined with and forming grand sweeping lines, characterize the original as molded in the clay by the hand of Powers."

Here then we have, in sober prose, the lineaments of a Florentine girl, who had, by some means, been brought to consent to this revolting use of her person. The rest is made out with the help of "professional sitters." There is no Greek slave at all in the case. That is all poetry, or rather humbug. Nor are we able to see the almost celestial genius which is attributed to the sculptor. He has a conception—then sends for a young girl from whom to *copy* his conception. There is nothing that in this case he did not copy, except the *attitude* and the *expression of*

countenance. And why should not the "one model" furnish him with both these, or at least the last; for hardly could that bold model have been so entirely lost to her nature as not to blush and hang her head somewhat in the style of a Greek slave, if ever really any Greek girl was so barbarously treated. And why could not the Florentine who used the chisel, who actually wrought out the statue, have copied from the original as easily as from the copy made by Powers? Why not? It was little else than a matter of convenience in working. But it is not our object to disparage Mr. Powers as a sculptor. Our object is, to say that there is no necessity for this nudity to display his skill. The display of genius *is not there,* but in the human countenance, which is quite as well, nay, much better represented when the person is covered. All the offensive exhibition is a mere copy, which we will guarantee the mechanic could have brought out just about as well without the help of Powers. Such statues as the "Greek Slave" must belong to the less exalted department of the art. There is little room for genius where so much is merely copied.

What is there, then, to excuse or palliate this copy of a nude Florentine girl, set up in New York, and made endurable, nay, fashionable, by the authority of such men as Dr. Dewey? In our humble judgment, all the reprobation with which he speaks of nude works of art belongs to this; and it required a courageous Green Mountain boy to set it up for exhibition in New York. We will not say what its attractions are. Every one can judge best by looking into his own feelings. As a matter of fact, we know that nude exhibitions of the human form, if endured by the public, are always sources of large profits to the exhibitors. We know that young ladies have visited the statue, and on entering the room have been shocked at the image before them. But they had been told that it was a great work of art, that it was right, nay, almost a duty, to see it; and so they hushed the maiden fluttering in their hearts, and forced themselves to gaze and admire. We would help them, if possible, back to the repossession of their natures. The first response of their feelings was natural, was right, and much nearer holiness than anything about the statue. We will tell them for their help in the path of rectitude, that some of our best artists pronounce the whole thing "vulgar." If art says it is vulgar, certainly nature is of the same opinion. One foreign artist, of no peculiar sensitiveness, remarked about it, "I will tell you what it is. The ladies go there to look at the statue, and the gentlemen go to *look at the ladies.*" We have yet to learn that anybody has really been excited with pity or indignation, or with any of

the feelings which would be excited by the reality of a young woman dragged out and exposed as the *name* of this statue represents. There may have been many tears shed, but we have not heard of it. We think the first impression of well-regulated minds is, the desire that some one would throw a blanket over this nakedness and hide it. If nature is right,—if the artists are right,—if this is a really barbaric, vulgar exhibition, opposed not only to Christian purity, but to civilized good taste, then let the delusion of holy vestments be dissipated, and the real vestments of decency be put in their place.

[The following article was accidentally omitted at its proper place; it should have been inserted before the article on page 308.]

THE CHURCH—WHERE IS IT?

[*From the Journal of Commerce.*]

THERE is a great deal of discussion in these days about the identity of the Church. So many cry "Here she is," that none but a very steady man can avoid being confused. The Romanists declare that theirs is the Holy Catholic Church, *out* of which there is no salvation; the Episcopalians, at least the Pusey portion of them, that they have a monopoly of the "covenant," so that if any find heaven out of their bosom, it must be through the "uncovenanted mercy" of God. Joe Smith sets up the same claim for his church of "Latter Day Saints;" and various other denominations insist that though salvation may be secured out of their pale, yet they have certain special external matters which constitute the *sine qua non* of the "visible Church." We have felt obliged, for our own sakes, to look into this matter, and as it is the topic now up for discussion, we trust our readers will excuse us for laying before them the result of our investigation, though it may turn us aside for a moment from our usual routine. We have noticed that each Church, especially those most exclusive, boast greatly of their unity. Behold, says each, the unity of our Church; and behold into how many sects all other pretenders are divided; and they tell us of the particular talisman in their position which guarantees this unity. Yet while the boast is in their lips, we see them fall asunder, and high church and low church are immediately separated as by an impassable gulf. We feel obliged therefore not to determine in favor of any particular Church on account of its unity, for no

Church possesses that quality as a perpetuity. The Romish Church has lost the great section which now composes the Greek Church, and that composing the Episcopal Church, not to speak of the sundering by the Reformation; and still the fires of discord rumble in the midst of her. The Episcopal Church, too, seems about to be riven in the center; the Kirk of Scotland has witnessed a grand secession; and the Presbyterian Church in this country is broken into equal parts. We notice, too, that notwithstanding these mighty severings, the claim of unity is as confidently asserted as ever, for each part and parcel is sure to allege that *it* is the whole Church, showing that even the doctors disagree, and are as much at fault as other men; only each cries "here she is."

In searching for the true Church among the contending claims which are presented, we have been surprised to observe, that the indispensable quality, the philosopher's stone of the true Church, is not anything which belongs to the people, but to the priests alone; so that to belong to the true Church is to follow a certain set of priests, and to conform to their directions. With the Romanists, the Greeks, and the Episcopalians, it is the "apostolic succession" of the clergy; and the same thing it is, if we understand the matter, which constitutes the exclusiveness of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches, so far as they are exclusive. Without the presence of an ordained priest in apostolic succession, there is with them no authorized Church. But as these (exclusives among Presbyterians and Congregationalists) admit that salvation is to be had, and even by covenant, out of their churches, we have pursued our investigation of the matter chiefly with reference to the claims of the three great Episcopal churches of Rome, Greece and England. The proposition is, that the twelve apostles were an *order of men* constituting the nucleus of the Church, and possessed the exclusive power to administer its ordinances and admit to its privileges; and that the power of the apostles has been transmitted by regular succession, through the laying on of hands, from age to age, down to the present day; so that the bishops now extant, are the veritable personification and identification, so far as office and power are concerned, of the twelve apostles. The Romanists claim that the Pope is the successor of Peter, the superior, as it is alleged, of the apostles; and that the bishops are the successors of the rest, though *which* apostle each bishop personifies respectively, it is not attempted to determine. This is the doctrine, if we understand it right. From the bishops the grace is transferred to the priests, and from the priests to the people, though the people never receive the power to pass it among each other.

Merely to belong to the Church, is of no avail. The applicant must be admitted by the priest, and from him receive certain sacraments from time to time. It is upon these sacraments which the priest administers, that the prospect of eternal glory depends. Baptism is one of these sacraments. When administered by the consecrated hands of a priest, it implies the remission of sins, the regeneration of the recipient, and his admission into the kingdom of heaven; but any other man besides a priest might baptize his fellow-man a thousand times, nay, pour all the waters of the Mississippi upon him, it would not wash out a single stain. The sacraments, in fact, are all of no use, except when "rightly administered;" but when so administered, they are effectual to eternal salvation. In examining this plan of saving sinners, it seemed to us of the utmost importance that every part of the history of this succession should be attested and brought home to each particular priest in the most minute and authentic form. If a mistake is made, it cannot be corrected. Heaven or hell hangs upon the verity of the succession. If the conveyance was imperfect at any point of the eighteen hundred years, the whole chain of communication is broken, and the poor sinner who trusted in the priest is lost forever. Upon this point it is indispensable that we should be *certain*—ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN. If a man only buys a lot of ground upon the surface of this transient world, he is careful to examine the title backward to the utmost record, and get a lawyer experienced in the business to help him. With every new sale a memorandum of these searches is handed over with the other papers. Yet after all this care, how many titles prove defective. If therefore the eternal joy or sorrow of an immortal being is to be placed upon the historical succession of the administering priest, we should expect every priest to come with his "searches" in his hand, carefully authenticated, from the starting-point of the apostles to the day of administering the sacrament. This is rendered indispensable, inasmuch as this power of life and death, this gift of the Holy Ghost, as it is still called, this mysterious power of eternal import, produces no animal or mental sensation as it passes from one to another. The priest who receives it from the bishops does not feel, nor see, nor hear, nor taste, nor smell anything. There is not even the little sudden shock which electricity produces when it enters the system. The bishop perceived nothing, either in his mind or body, when the all-powerful grace was imparted to him, nor does the sinner who comes to be transformed out of darkness into light, perceive anything. From Pope to penitent there is no consciousness of receiving anything at the time, nor afterward can the individual possibly ascertain

that he is in possession of anything. It is of no use to ask any one who has received this grace, but who has nothing to show for it, how or when he lost it, or where he had it last, for there is no sensation, no consciousness of anything at all, at any time. Neither the man himself nor those who are acquainted with him, can perceive that he has anything new or peculiar about him. He is no better in affections, no wiser in intellect, no stronger in body. We have noticed that some boys just out of the theological seminary, where they had learned the indispensableness of the gifts of ordination, and anxious to be able to preach with authority, having been ordained by Congregational pastors, and finding that they had acquired nothing palpable, have sought the desideratum from presbyters in the Presbyterian Church. Still unconscious of the gift, they pass on to the bishop of the Episcopal Church, and thence, dissatisfied, to Rome, and yet, like other boys in chase of jack-o'-lanterns, they cannot clutch it, nor get nearer to it, by all their labor.

As therefore there is no possibility, with the help of the most powerful microscope, or in any other way, of getting any present evidence of the existence of the grace, everything depends on history, which, as we said, in a case so momentous, should be authenticated at every step. But how surprised were we to find that there is not a scrap of any such authentication. When we looked for the parchment deed, and the seal of the notary-public or commissioner of deeds, or at least of the ordaining bishops and councils, we could find nothing but the general deductions of history coming down from "the fathers." *Not a priest or bishop in any one of the three great Episcopal Churches is* ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN *of his succession.* When the sinner is about to pass into eternity, and the priest says to him, "Grasp this chain of succession;" and the dying man exclaims, "Oh, Reverend Sir, are you *certain* that this chain, so very long that I can see only this one link of it,—are you CERTAIN that it was fast-hooked to the foundation of the apostles, and that in all its ten thousand links there is *not one* unsound?"—the utmost that the priest can say, in this moment of infinite importance, is, "I *guess* it will hold you."

As we cannot tell how long we may be occupied in searching for the Church, we lay before our readers the result of our examination so far. It is unsatisfactory, we confess. We cannot but hope that somewhere there is something more sure upon which we and our readers may trust our eternal interests. If we find anything by farther searches, we will publish what we find.

BUSINESS PROSPECTS AND PRINCIPLES.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, February* 28, 1839.]

ALL the prophecies of prosperity to our country are now receiving their fulfillment. The past year has been one of the best ever known for substantial prosperity, and the current year is likely to be still better. There will be prosperity enough to make everybody rich; and yet the surest way to get poor is to be in an inordinate hurry to get rich. This has caused the downfall of hundreds within the last few years. Many who were rich, in scrambling for enormous gains, lost all, and would now be most happy and contented if they could get back one-tenth of the wealth they once had in secure possession. Many a young man who is now starting in business, will spend his life in torture and die poor, merely because he is bent on being a *very* rich man. But why do you wish to be very rich? Of what use could five millions be to you? Would you eat any more, or would what you eat taste any sweeter for such unwieldy wealth? Could such a sum minister any more to your real happiness than half of it, or a quarter, or a tenth of it? He is as rich as the richest whose wants are all supplied. All the rest is mere care and vexation.

In all the range of human folly, there is nothing more foolish than the desire to possess boundless wealth, which after all gives the possessor nothing but trouble and anxiety. There are some men so rich that there is scarcely a fire but they are losers by it —or a gale, but it costs them something. There is no thunder of distant war, but they tremble for their numerous stores; no flood but carries off some of their bridges; no prosperity in the land but it makes money plenty and brings down their rate of usance, and makes it more difficult to re-invest their constantly-returning funds. These men lead a dog's life merely because they are so rich. Few poor men who know not where to get a meal of victuals, suffer from anxiety so much as they. Yet thousands, in scrambling for this state of wretchedness, have plunged themselves into a sea of troubles, where they have been almost as miserable as if their largest desires had been accomplished. Our advice to all our friends is, Do not set out to be enormously rich. Bound your desires by what you know is judicious. Let your mind run on something more noble than mere money-making. Keep your business within your means. Do no more than you can manage with ease, then you will not be humbled to continual shinning. If you are prosperous, give away your money freely. One dollar given away will afford you more real joy than the hoarding of ten dollars. On such principles as these, you will be likely always to have enough; you will be likely to manage your

business easily, honorably, and happily. Your credit will be good, your heart at rest, and your fire-side happy. Whatever your occupation is, stick to it. Never turn off to speculations. Let all your acquaintance make their thousands daily, and be not yourself disturbed. They stand on slippery places, and when the storm of revulsion comes, nine out of ten of them will be swept away, while you remain unmoved.

THE TRADE OF POLITICS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 23, 1847.]

A POOR trade, and yet the only one which some men have. It is a trade, moreover, inconsistent with the best success, if not with any success, in any other occupation. The merchant or mechanic who makes himself a partisan, and so occupies his mind with contriving and his hands with executing political projects, will almost certainly neglect his store or his shop. Even lawyers, whose business is perhaps more congenial with politics than that of any other set of men, are very apt to find that either politics or the bar must be relinquished. It has come about that a very considerable number of persons, abandoning other occupations, have taken up politics as a trade, and make this their chief reliance for a livelihood. To young persons there is much that is alluring in political scrambling, and the young often enter into the support of one party or another with a degree of real patriotism far beyond that which is felt by their leaders. They hear it proclaimed that "a crisis has arrived when the country is to be saved or lost," and in their simplicity and inexperience they suppose the *whole* country is meant, whereas, ten to one, the orator only means that *his own* particular interest in its honors and emoluments is to be saved or lost. These same young persons perhaps continue the game when they come to understand it better, for the sake of personal advantage, and great numbers of others enter upon it for the same reason. Others, again, are allured by the mere love of excitement. Some men devote themselves to politics deliberately, almost from the commencement of their activity in life; but the greater number who adopt politics as a trade, do so, because, having from some of the causes mentioned, been drawn into it, they have pursued it until their other occupations have deserted them, and as a matter of necessity they cast themselves for a living upon what seems the most ready resource.

Politics, however, is a poor trade. It is poor in its effect upon

a man's purse, for it generally leaves it empty enough. The excitements of politics disqualify a man in a great measure for the careful husbandry of his pecuniary resources. A political life is an expensive one, and the salaries, in our country at least, are too low to defray the expense. Many a man in the higher offices earns less than a good farmer, and as to the clerkships and other working offices, which are the objects of most violent scrambling, a great proportion of them yield less income than is paid by individuals for services no more laborious. When to these things are added the losses which result from being turned out of office every now and then, it is not strange that politicians, as a class, have less money, less credit, and more duns, than any other class of honorable men. Politics is a poor business in its effects on the morals of a man who makes it his trade. He must belong to a party, and the measures of a party are seldom such that a good conscience can approve them all; but *he* must approve them all. He must go with the team over precipices and through bogs, and the moment he falters he finds himself down and trampled on. The bidding of the party, not the dictates of conscience, must he obey. The best rule which he can hope to live by is that "the end justifies the means." After all its show of eclat, politics is a poor business as it respects the honors obtained by it. True, it is chiefly in politics that men are elevated to what are called posts of honor. But the honor most of them attain is, to be most heartlessly hurraed by one party and most heartily hissed by the other. Now and then a man enjoys the real deference and cordial approbation of his countrymen, and perhaps the world. But such men are not often from the number of those who make politics the occupation of their lives. They are much oftener the men who, upon an emergency, are called forth from comparative retirement, and whose plans for the future are not such as to bend their own integrity or excite the jealousy of others. Inconsistency of conduct in political men is always and perhaps rightfully esteemed dishonorable. Yet no man can long ride upon popular opinion and be consistent; for the plain reason that public opinion is not consistent. We beg the public pardon for speaking the truth in so unpopular a manner, but so it is. There are a great many subjects upon which the public mind is established, never perhaps to be changed; but upon those which are not so settled, (and these are always the subjects of interest and debate with politicians,) the public mind changes much oftener than the change is noticed. The same opinions which at one time a public man is obliged by the force of public opinion to advocate with all his powers, he is a few years afterward compelled by the same public to oppose with equal earnestness, and

then, perhaps be scorned by the same public for his inconsistency, when he would most gladly be consistent if he dared. Take it all in all, there are hundreds of men who, by their enterprise, and talent, and probity in business, and liberality and piety of moral conduct, gain a more substantial honor among their fellow-men and die more heartily regretted, than falls to the lot of more than a very small number of politicians; while thousands of politicians die absolutely and very justly despised. But poorest of all is the trade of politics in regard to the happiness of the man who pursues it; and this is the test of value for all things. Wealth, honor, and pleasure, are good for nothing, and no wise man will pursue them for their effect on himself, except as they promote his substantial happiness. But what is the politician's happiness? If he is completely successful, his gratification is hardly worthy to be called happiness. It is the gratification of ambition, which is the more insatiate the more it is indulged; and it is the malicious gratification of triumphing over rivals—a feeling which partakes but little more of pleasure than of pain. But how many are never able to reach the fountain where these mixed waters may be tasted! They live in vexation and anxiety, fearful of rivals, conscious that the waters of public opinion on which they walk are unstable as those of the ocean; always scared at the visions of defeat, and not unfrequently obliged to feel the chagrin of the reality, and the anguish of beholding a rival go up to the pinnacle, while they sink down neglected.

This is our sermon on the poor trade of politics.

THE STATE:

(A REVIEW OF PROFESSOR LEWIS' DISCOURSE AT ANDOVER.)

[*From the Journal of Commerce, September* 14, 1843.]

MEN have become so exceedingly learned in these days, that they know nothing at all. They are so fond of metaphysics, that the evidence of their senses is insipid. Nothing is certain but that which is deduced by a long course of sophistry; and, as to prove the *truth* by metaphysics is a short and simple process, they are only satisfied when at the end of three hours they have mystified themselves into such utter darkness that a glow-bug fills them with ecstasy. The moon has no charms for them until they have proved that she is a cheese; the rays of the sun have no warmth until they are proved to have their origin in cucumbers. All that is, must be reasoned out of existence, and things most hideous that are not, reasoned into reality · and then they

can smoke their pipes with composure. If such brain-sick learning could have its way, common sense would be laughed out of society; all that men know, they would be required to deny; and all that is absurd, to believe. The age of infidel philosophy would be brought back, and the consummation of learning consist in knowing the only thing which would remain to be known, viz.: that all things are uncertain.

We know not what could be a more thorough exemplification of this learned foolishness, than an American Professor proving before the assembled sages of New England, that man has no right to govern himself in society, that he has no rights except as a religious being, that a state formed by the agreement of the people is no state at all, and that there is a mysterious divinity about that mystical thing called government, which makes usurpation, and that only, the ordination of God. "The State may originate as the production of a wicked revolution or a just revolution," &c.; in any way, in fact, except by the free assent and agreement of the people. Herod, Nero, the tyrant of the day in the tumult of the French Revolution, Bonaparte, and Rosas: all these rule by the authority of God! "this is not the work of man;" but these United States, with Washington at their head, "were not a State, but a mere mass of men—it was a usurpation—the State had committed suicide." This theory is not uncommon in our days, especially among the clergy. With these men nothing is so odious as radicalism; and whatever opposes their will is radicalism. No doctrine is so odious as that kings are made for the people, and priests for the churches; and no doctrine so wholesome as that the people are made for kings, and churches for their priests. The family is taken as the sample of government by divine right, and the chief blessing of that institution is its *discipline*. Discipline is their panacea for the ills of humanity. It is, say they, "only through the *discipline* of the family, the State, and the Church, that man can attain his true dignity." Birch is the only tree in all the forest which they admire; but if by chance the little end of the switch falls to their share, no boy makes more outcry. They talk as if under an indistinct impression that the proper duty of a father is to flog the boys every night, as they go to bed. The sum of the whole matter is, that the State being a religious institution, and religion being the especial prerogative of the Church, and the Church, as well as the State, being a disciplinary institution, for which however the State alone holds the power; it is expedient for the furtherance of the ends of a religious State and a disciplined Church, that the two should be united in mutual support of each other. The adulterous union of Church and State is the end of all this fine spinning of metaphysics.

There are some results of the doctrines under consideration, which seem to us little short of absolute absurdities, even in metaphysics. One of the rules of logic, as well as physics, is, that a part cannot be more than the whole. Yet these metaphysicians hold that a civil compact, a government originated by the will of the whole people, is a fiction, but that any *individual* may *assume* the government, and it is then an institution of God. What a million of men have no right to do, any one of the million has the right to do, in opposition to all the rest. In fact, any number of individuals may rise up in opposition to each other, and the conqueror of the whole can establish a divinely-appointed State; but if the whole number rise in harmony and peace, and establish a government, it is nothing.

Again, according to the hypothesis of these men, every existing government is of divine right, except those where the will of the people is the supreme law. Whoever governs today is the vicegerent of Jehovah; and all rebellion against the government in existence, is rebellion against God. Yet if rebellion becomes so strong as to overthrow the government and establish itself in power, the scepter of divine right passes instantly into its hands. According to this theory the government of Boyer was the government of God; and none the less but perhaps the more so because he had violated the Constitution upon which he was elected, and usurped all power in his own hands. The rebellion of Riviere was a wicked rebellion in all its stages of feebleness; but when it became so strong that Boyer fled, then the revolution became a righteous revolution, and Riviere the head of the State by divine right. "King Solomon the First," who has since headed a rebellion against the government of Riviere, will be a lawful king if he can get strength enough to rule; if not, he will deserve to be executed as a rebel. Success is the test, and the signal of divine approbation. "Might makes right." No pope, or king, or tyrant robber of the dark ages, ever asked for anything better than this. But we have no such doctrine from the Word of God or from any of his dealings. With the Bible, success is no test of rectitude. Actions begun in sin are not consummated in righteousness, but if they are to be sanctioned in heaven they must be right from the start. The right of the strongest is one of the laws of Satan's kingdom, and by it he has kept his minions on the thrones of this world, and at the head of its political churches, in a great majority of cases, from age to age, and we have no doubt that these merciless oppressors of the human family, and persecutors of the real Church of Christ, have been as much abhorred in heaven as on earth, and instead of ever being owned as the vicegerents of Jehovah, will

find their place among the rebels against Him. But how unworthy is the advocate of such opinions, to enjoy the privileges of American liberty! How unworthy to enjoy the "inalienable rights" which cost so much blood, and which he so much despises and contemns! The sophistry of his learning in its highest efforts reaches only to the same conclusions with the most besotted ignorance.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

[*From the Journal of Commerce.*]

We have never seen any good reason for the opinion so often and so self-complacently expressed, that the people, especially those who are poorer than the speakers, are unfit to govern themselves. There is a strange arrogance of wisdom and patriotism among those who count themselves of the upper classes. They seem to forget that the vigor which has raised them so much, was nurtured and hardened in the lower ranks from which they started. They fail to appreciate the fact which they see constantly before them, that it is the energy existing at the bottom of society which raises it to the top, and the supineness accumulating at the top which constantly sinks it to the bottom.

Those who think themselves alone worthy to be trusted, we have seen quite as ready to appropriate the powers of government to their own private and dishonest advantage, as poor men, or even ignorant men. Education, intelligence, moral principle, cannot be too highly valued. They are essential to the well-being of a State. When the supposed upper classes have enough of these to make them willing to do justice to those whom they consider below them, there will be more reason than has ever been long seen on earth as yet, for the opinion that these alone should rule.

But there is a mighty power in the mere shape of institutions, to guide men right. The Irish are an ignorant and turbulent people, upon whom England has exhausted the wisdom and patriotism and Christianity of her upper classes, for long centuries, in vain. They grow worse instead of better, until Ireland is little else than a great bedlam, and hospital, and golgotha. Bt just change the position of an Irishman; transplant him from Ireland to America; give him a share in the government, and treat him as a man, and he is a man. The process of regeneration goes on with astonishing rapidity; and if the effect of his early training cannot be wholly eradicated from the emigrant, it

is from his children. They are good citizens, stripped clean of the peculiar qualities which destroy the country of their ancestors. Right treatment, good institutions, regenerate the family from the desperate degradation to which ages of bad government had reduced it. We have an intensely interesting exhibition of the same thing in Liberia. The negroes are set down as a sort of half-monkey race by some philanthropists; and by a vast majority of respectable people the negro slaves of the South are thought wholly incapable of self-government; and so they are probably in this country. But look over to Liberia, and see these very slaves, the identical men and women who were slaves, not their children, struggling through the difficulties of a new and most arduous enterprise, with a degree of wisdom and steady energy which would do honor to any people. Let us not then any longer talk of the incapacity of man for self-government, especially with the Bible in his hands, that source of abundant wisdom. Frenchmen, to be sure, have not many Bibles. But they have Bibles and Bible men enough to salt and enlighten the land very essentially. They have done nobly in recovering their rights three times from the grasp of tyrants. Let them but know that the government is of them and for them, and we shall expect them to do honor to the free institutions of their choice.

[These principles are then applied to the French Revolution of 1848.]

PERSONAL RIGHTS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 27, 1844.]

The rights which men hold in their own persons are about all the divine rights which exist on earth. "Thou shalt lovet hy neighbor as thyself," is the command of God, and confers a right. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink," confers a right in the same way; though not perhaps by the deserving of the beneficiary. That God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth, places us upon one broad equality—giving to every man the same rights which are possessed by other men. Whatever rights we possess by virtue of our creation, with the faculties and responsibility which attach to us, we are entitled to exercise, without interruption, or interference, or censorship of our fellow men. If this is not so, then the right is not ours, but the neighbor's, who has a right to control us. As each man, for himself, is responsible to God for his opinions, the state of his affections, and the worship

which he renders, he has a right in himself to form these opinions by the examination of all the sources of information and guidance which are naturally within his reach—and render a worship and service which those opinions dictate. However erroneous these opinions and this worship may be, and however painful to those around us, and although our friends and neighbors may have the right to expostulate with us in kindness, they have no right to take offense at us, or injure us in any way; for we are not infringing upon their rights—we are only exercising our own.

Every man has a right to select his own occupation, his wife (with her consent), and his associates generally. For all this he is responsible to God; (for he exercises the rights which God has given him,) but he is in no wise responsible to his fellow-men. If, in any of these selections, he is led into courses of life which violate his duties to other persons, then they have a right to complain; but not for the mere *selection*. As a citizen every one has a right to join what political party he pleases, and vote for the rulers of his own choice; for, in so doing, he only exercises the right which belongs to all citizens.

The property which any man has honestly acquired he has a right to keep or dispose of, as he pleases—provided he does not endanger the support of his family or his own maintenance.

In fact, every man has a right, so far as his fellow-men are concerned, to believe and to do a great many wrong things, for which he may stand deservedly condemned before his Creator. Our various relations to each other, as neighbors, dealers, employers or employed, make no change or abridgment in the absoluteness of these rights. The man who assumes to control us, or to quarrel with us, or injure us in any way, or even to frown upon us, because we do not exercise these rights in accordance with his opinions or his interest, or his wishes, invades the rights which God has given us, and is as truly guilty of a robbery as if he had violently taken away our money.

LIBERTY AND LICENTIOUSNESS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, October* 31, 1835.]

EVERY virtue, carried to excess, becomes a vice. And so much does vice wear the semblance of its kindred virtue, that it is often taken for it by the individual who practices it, and not untrequently by his acquaintances. The miser calls himself prudent; the spendthrift thinks he is only generous; and the licentious abuser of his fellow-men sets himself up as the cham-

pion of liberty. Americans have been so careful to shield real liberty from invasion, that in building their wall around it they have inclosed almost all the quags of licentiousness.

Here every man possesses, as an American citizen, the inalienable right of swearing, lying, and slandering, provided only that he makes his declaration in such a general way as not to fasten on any one individual. For instance, he has a right to say of the Jackson men, or of the Whigs, or of the Presbyterians, or the Methodists, in general terms, that they are thieves, robbers, or anything else he pleases; and if there are any considerable number of persons who wish to promulgate the same opinions, they have a right to meet in convention, and discuss and resolve as may best suit their malignant propensities. More than this; they have a right to take such measures as will alarm those they hate, for their personal safety, or for the safety of their property, provided only they do not *say* what their real object is. Nay, more; there are various ways in which an American citizen has a right to defraud his fellow-citizens of their property, their happiness, and even their lives. In short, every American citizen has a right to render himself a mischievous pest to all his fellow-citizens. We use the word "right" in its civil sense, it will be seen, meaning the liberty to do everything *which the laws do not punish.* While every American citizen possesses, in this sense, the right to do as we have described, it is obvious that all of us cannot really exercise all our rights. If we should, the result would be Bedlam rather than society. It would be universal confusion, and deprivation of all real and useful liberty. Plainly, somebody must forbear. If one portion of the community insist on exercising their rights thus licentiously, other portions must submit to have their rights restricted and abridged. It seems many times to be forgotten that there are other laws besides those written in the statute-book, by which every good citizen ought to be bound and regulated; such as the laws of God, the laws of good neighborhood, and the laws of gentlemanly courtesy. But it is no uncommon thing for those who break most barbarously all these last named codes, to cry themselves up as the champions of liberty and law, and cry out "persecution," if any vigorous measures are adopted to resist, or even to expose their mal-practices.

MORALS OF RULERS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, September* 9, 1844.]

We published some time ago the letter of a correspondent, setting forth the immoral character of several members of Congress, and complaining in very proper terms, that such men should be sent to dishonor the country in the halls of its legislation. There are a multitude of such complaints. But are those who complain always careful themselves not to vote for an immoral man? The difficulty, if we understand it right, is, that good men pray for good rulers, and then vote for bad ones. They can see very well that some dissolute man from a distant part of the country ought never to have been intrusted with the affairs of government; but when such a man is nominated by their own party, in their own district, do they withhold their votes? Not one man in ten, if one in a hundred, will break away from the impulses of party to follow the leadings of sound morality. They pray for rulers who "fear God and hate covetousness," and then vote for men who "neither fear God nor regard man." Such praying, and the scolding of such men about bad rulers, are equally important. If men who pray for good rulers are in earnest when they pray, there is one way by which they can secure a favorable answer to their prayers. It is never to vote for any but good men. If men who pray would act in accordance with their prayers, and never vote for an immoral man, there would be no such men nominated. But so long as men sacrifice religion, morals, and everything else, at the shrine of party, so long virtue finds no support, and vice no reproof at the polls. Let every man do his own duty in this matter, or else cease to complain of bad men in office.

SECTARIANISM.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, September* 9, 1847.]

We doubt whether sectarianism in general is any part at all of true Christianity. We suspect that Christianity is one thing, and sectarianism a separate thing; no more *the* thing than the husk is the corn, nor at all as necessary to true religion as the worthless husk to the rich corn which it incloses. Sectarianism may be essential to the elevation of leading individuals, and but for it, many great systems would vanish into air at once; but religion would be left, nevertheless. Christ promulgated Christianity; men have promulgated sectarianism. There have been thousands of occasions when this has been practically illustrated.

Christian missionaries of various denominations have often found, when they have met together, that they were all one. Men in great peril together have often, by their mutual danger, been stripped of their sectarianism, yet with all their religion left, have called aloud and together for help from the mighty God who alone could save them. It is in rich churches, beneath tall spires, and in irreligious associations, that the weeds of sectarianism grow rife; but in poverty and sadness there is often none of it, though much more true piety. In fact, if sectarianism were not constantly fomented by interested individuals, we should not be certain that the great mass of Christians would not directly fall into one great brotherhood. We are not so much troubled about sectarianism as some people are. We are not certain that, small as the portion of true piety may be among all the denominations in these days, sectarianism is not a good thing. It sets up a rivalry of opposition where the motive of benevolence is too feeble, and so creates Christian action and usefulness, when but for it there would be nothing but dry bones. Still, we cannot think that the true vitality of religion is in sectarianism. While we do not think that Christian union on a common basis is, as things now stand, to be established by a world's convention, yet we do think it a possibility, and even a probability at some time. Pray what will give vitality to the saints in heaven? Will it be Episcopacy, or Congregationalism, or Methodism?

TRINITY CHURCH CROSS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 9, 1845.]

The cross has at last been placed on the top of the noble steeple of Trinity Church. As a mere matter of architecture, it is rather, by contrast, calculated to add to the dignity of the structure below. Whether in this respect it is for the better or the worse, there will probably be a diversity of tastes. If the cross is intended as a sign to designate the denomination to whom the building belongs, it will be likely to be misunderstood, unless, indeed, Trinity intends to announce her return in due submission to the bosom of Holy Mother Church of Rome, which we suppose is not the case. If the cross is erected under the notion that it adds anything to the sanctity of the place, that this cross will be an object of adoration, or veneration even, the design is distinctly idolatrous, and in thorough rejection of Him who died on Calvary upon a cross, as a sacrifice in the place of sinners. It is no matter into what *shape* the smith hammers the metal when

it is warmed on the coals, whether it be a Jupiter, a St. Paul, or a cross; whether it is the image of anything in heathen mythology or scripture history, makes no difference. If the image is intended to excite pious emotion toward itself, or anything which dwells in it or about it, the intention is to reject the true God and set up another. Truth and falsehood are often so near together, that it takes the nicest care to distinguish between them; yet they are always really and totally opposed to each other, and their results are liable to be separated by a gulf which no man can pass. It is no uncommon thing, in fact, for men to believe that they are doing God service, when they are doing just that which he most abhors. But there is no need, we presume, for such remarks upon the Trinity cross, though they flow naturally from the contemplation of the manner in which, by the use of such images, the Christian Church, which it cost so much blood to establish, was led back to an idolatry more dark and dreadful than that which had preceded it; so that the whole work of the Christian dispensation had in reality to be commenced anew, and to find its most deadly and cruel opponent in the nominal Church, with the cross elevated upon every steeple.

CONFIRMATION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, January* 4, 1848.]

We received yesterday a notice that our property in Maiden Lane had been assessed $3,00, with information that the said assessment had been "confirmed;" and that payment would be received "in money current at the several banks in this city." We have to say most decidedly that we shall not pay. First, because we cannot determine certainly what the amount is, as it is only stated in figures. Secondly, because we have no faith in mere confirmation. If the thing be unsound in itself, whether it be man, beast, or whatever else, mere confirmation, by whatever hands performed, is a mere ceremony, coming to nothing; therefore this matter of the Maiden Lane, being altogether unsound, hypocritical, rotten, and of unseemly odor, from the beginning, confirmation cannot cure its defects. And lastly, because we do not own any property in Maiden Lane.

CHURCH PEWS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 18, 1843.]

"CHURCH PEWS.—In the practice of politely bowing strangers out of a pew where there is still room to spare, is there not a lack of even worldly courtesy? 'Have you not mistaken the pew, sir?' blandly said one of these Sunday Chesterfields, as with emphatic gracefulness he opened the door. 'I beg pardon,' replied the stranger, rising to go out, 'I fear I have. I mistook it for a Christian's.'"—*New York American.*

THIS must be a very popular paragraph with those Sunday marauders who, whether they pay for a pew anywhere or not, are perfectly at home in the best seat they can find. These persons have, many of them, arrived at so high a state of Christian attainment, as to perceive that the only person in all the world who has no claim to a pew in church, is the person who pays for it. They, therefore, take possession alone, or in squads, of the best pews they can find, where they seat themselves in Christian perfection, and if a contribution-box should chance to pass along, they turn up their Christian noses at it, and report the people as extremely impolite. For the owner of the pew to stand with his family at the door and make a bow, signifying that he would be glad to use what is his own, is enough to get him the character of being no Christian and no gentleman. We know at least one church where intrusions of this sort are carried on with so high a hand, that the trustees are obliged to be less courteous than they would like to be, or give up the establishment altogether. We have sometimes seen persons high in honor and in Christian character, when they go to a strange church, take a back seat, or ask the sexton to show them to a seat, or walk down the aisle with an air which betokens their wishes, and this course of conduct has seemed to us to breathe quite as much the air of Christianity and politeness as the conduct of those persons who, when they go abroad to church, go early, take possession of the best pew they can find, and then look with self-complacent indignation at the parishioner who dares to ask for a seat in his own pew.

PROFANENESS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 25, 1846.]

I HOPE the day will come when a grand effort will be made to purify our language from profaneness; or, at least, when the captains of steamboats, and others who entertain throngs of travelers, will remember that among their guests there are almost

always some who love and revere the name of God and Jesus Christ, and whose feelings are wounded when these names are taken in vain. I shall not dispute the right of any man (so far as society is concerned) to defy high Heaven with oaths and curses, and swear when God only hears, or when he is surrounded by others like himself. I can only say of him that nothing is more vulgar in language, nothing else more degrading, nothing else so profitlessly wicked. But let him settle that with the God who has told him beforehand that He will "not hold him guiltless." What I claim is that *my* ears shall not be assailed by profanity. It is not only sin against God, but against the English language, and against common civility, for any man in a promiscuous society to draw his adjectives from the vocabulary of Billingsgate, which some of the company have never learned, and cannot hear but with pain. Especially is this violation of private rights disreputable and ungentlemanly in the officers of steamboats and the keepers of hotels, who by their invitations to strangers to come under their charge, do virtually pledge themselves that the traveler's personal rights shall not by them be invaded, but protected and secured. These remarks are not without reason in what I have endured at the West; and yet I would not be understood as characterizing the Western people as sinners above all men in this respect. There is too much profaneness, a great deal, yet there are thousands who abhor an oath, and on the whole I did not hear more of this vulgar criminality than I had reason to expect. The most shocking profanity to which I was compelled to listen was at La Porte, Indiana. But it was at the close of election day, and the men whose hideous oaths resounded through the tavern were not, I trust, any fair representation of the people of the place. There were, however, a number of men whose language was almost all profane, and who seemed distressed that they were obliged to intersperse a few words of real English in order to express any idea at all. Some whose ideas were all drowned, made out pretty well with no English at all. I went to bed almost horrified by the dreadful depravity which I had witnessed, and when at a late hour I was awakened by an old man passing through my chamber to his own bed, cursing and damning along, in low grumbles to himself, it required but little dreaming to suppose him a lost fiend, vainly seeking rest in the darkness, and that I had lain down in the purlieus of the infernal regions, instead of on the border of "The Door Prairie."

A similar train of thought has come over me respecting the smokers, though of course of a much milder character. I do not dispute the right to smoke, so far as I am concerned, or society;

but I do dispute any man's right to smoke in my face in the places of promiscuous resort. I do not say that it is degrading or ungentlemanly to smoke good cigars, or bad ones, or a pipe. But I do say, that the man who comes upon the promenade of a steamer, "abaft the shaft," where ladies and gentlemen are assembled, and there sits himself down at the windward of them, to smoke and spit, is a violator of their individual rights, is uncivil, and for the time being a blackguard, however much of a gentleman he may be elsewhere and on other occasions. If anything could make me believe that tobacco-smoking was in its very nature uncivilizing and degrading, it would be the exhibitions of incivility, such as I have described, which it induces men to be guilty of, who, in every other respect, seem to be courteous and gentlemanly. When I went into the bar-rooms or the "smoking-rooms" of the West, I should have thought myself quite uncivil to complain of those who were smoking. But I thought there was reason for complaint, when almost on no occasion could I get a seat in the fresh air, but some smoker would contrive to get further to windward than myself and make me breathe out of his mouth. Ladies, though their sweet presence protects the gentlemen who accompany them from some inconveniences, and even introduces them to some choicer accommodations—even ladies are no protection against the smokers. No decorum, no beauty, no necessity can propitiate the smoker, and remonstrance is only the precursor of double injury.

D.D.'s.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 25, 1845.]

We are glad to see that our colleges are forbearing this year, more than ever before, in the distribution of "Semi-Lunar Fardels." The great number of manufactories of Doctors of Divinity, and the curious characters who sometimes get them, with the other objections, have brought the title into absolute disgrace. It ranks now very much with "*Capting*" in the militia; that is, a good deal below Mr. It is a singular accident, if such it was, that the only thing in our country which has any resemblance to a title of nobility should have been bestowed upon the ministers of a religion whose honor is all in its humility, and whose author forbade them even to be called Rabbi. The degree of LL.D. is, to be sure, in a few cases, conferred on literary men and civilians, but not with the design of giving a *title*. Even this had better be omitted. But to set about decorating the parties with D.D.'s,

because they stand in certain relations to the officers of the college, or to rich donors, or even have money of their own to give, or have rendered some service to a party, or need to have a questionable character white-washed, or have reached a certain age, is not very reputable to anybody, and causes the same thing, when conferred on real merit, to be rather a derogation than an honor. One gentleman, we noticed, was mentioned as the oldest living graduate of the college, and he was *doctorated*, not without other merits, we dare say, besides his extreme age. Yet the act was likely to be misunderstood rather as one of pity than respect. We hope the hundred institutions of our country, and more too, called colleges, and a few of them entitled to the name, will cease this nonsense and mischief of trying to inflate the pride of ministers, by conferring an old, unmeaning, and superannuated title upon them. Let them have the privilege, like other American citizens, of being called Mr., and earning their own rank in society.

SEMI-LUNAR FARDELS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 6, 1847.]

THERE is a prospect of an uncommonly large yield this season. One college has turned out five pair. As there are over one hundred colleges in the country, they would, at the same rate, yield an aggregate of over five hundred pair in a single year. For the economy of labor, we would suggest the propriety of at once dubbing all the clergymen in the country, "D.D.," without distinction of sect. This would satisfy all, and leave no room for suspicion of favoritism. And what a glorious country we should be, with twenty-five thousand or thirty thousand Doctors of Divinity among us.

ELOQUENCE.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, March* 11, 1847.]

THE newspaper urchins know how to practice it. They put on an earnestness which surpasses anything on the forum. They run through the streets as if they would break their necks, crying "Extra Herald and Tri—bune, got the great war in Mexico." You would think the fellows were chased by Rancheros, and like the Abolitionists of old times, had taken their lives in their hands.

They seem in a perfect agony with the frightful news they carry. Now and then they get up an excitement meeting, and combine their powers. One afternoon last week a squad of them came rushing down Wall street, and brought up on the broad pavement opposite our office. There were twenty of them, perhaps, all shouting at the top of their voices, running about among each other, and up and down,—much as you will see a swarm of bees when hovering in the air. The trick succeeded admirably. Many of the passers-by bought the extras, which the boys, in the agony of their excitement, had scarce time to deliver. In about fifteen minutes the show was over, and nothing left but the solemn tone of a single voice, crying over and over, despairingly, "Evening Expr-a-a-ass, fourth edition,—got the battle in Mexico—only tew cents." This melancholy dole held on until the dusky night, when whip-poor-will begins his more sprightly monotony, and the night-hawks dive down through the air and cry p-o-o-o to day's agitations. Occasionally the boys kill General Taylor, or capture him. Sometimes they knock off Santa Anna's other leg, or put him some other way in limbo. But whoever buys their extras now-a-days—whatever the "edi-shin" may be—is sure to be taken in. As the matter goes now, the heads of southern news are telegraphed every night from Washington, and published in the morning papers, so that all the great wars in Mexico, of all edi-shins, are little else than repetitions of the morning news.

MORAL COURAGE.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April* 19, 1848.]

This is a choice commodity, and is shared largely by almost every individual, in his own estimation, while he is apt to consider it sadly deficient in others. There is a feeling very prevalent in the community, that *editors*, especially, are deficient in this estimable characteristic. Men wonder that *editors* are not ready to run a tilt against every wind-mill within their reach: also to ride every hobby, however spavined it may be, or however broken the ground. If there are ditches or stone-walls to be leaped, or pitfalls to be crossed, the owner of the aforesaid *hanimal* applies to the editor, as a matter of course, to make the experiment; keeping his own precious self out of danger. If the editor breaks his neck in the attempt, the owner still remains unknown; but if he gets safe over, perchance the mysterious agent who has used him as a catspaw may come forward and share the honors of victory. Take a case, by way of illustration. A day

or two since, we received an anonymous communication, to which was appended the following postscript:

"P.S. And now, dear sirs, while we esteem you as possessing more moral courage than any other editors of the secular press in the Union, we question whether you have enough to give the above a place in your useful and wide-spread journal. We hope to be disappointed, however, by seeing it appear: for wickedness must be rebuked, or we perish."

All this is well fitted to stimulate us to the conflict. It applauds our moral courage—of which we claim no more than our share; it also rebukes our lack of that ingredient; yet gives us an opportunity to show that, after all, we are brave enough to do as he bids us. Now we have a proposition to make to this admirer of moral courage. It is this: If he will append to the communication his own real name and place of residence, and if it turns out that he is a man of any character and responsibility, we will give his communication an insertion in our columns. Our names are well known to the public; let Alithea (Aletheia it should be, if he means to be the personification of Truth) reveal himself also: and then we shall stand on equal ground. But perhaps the communication is not such that Alithea would be willing to be known as the author of it: he would like to see it in print, if he could skulk behind the fence, and leave the responsibility to be borne by others. Let us say to him, in all kindness, that this is *not* moral courage. We desire to have only so much of that ingredient, in the exercise of our professional duties, as will embolden us to print and say what is wise and expedient, all things considered. Therefore, the fear of being accounted deficient in moral courage will not impel us to insert Alithea's communication, except on the condition above-named; for there are other qualities of mind,—a sound discretion for instance,—which we deem as valuable as moral courage.

"MUNIFICENT BEQUEST."

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 13, 1839.]

We do not intend to quarrel with these words, (which we so often meet with in the public prints,) nor their meaning. And yet we cannot help thinking, that to part with one's money at death is hardly so thorough a proof of genuine benevolence, as to give it away before the cold grip unclenches his fist so that he cannot possibly hold on any longer. Any man will let go of his bag of money when he cannot possibly hold on any longer.

But after all, there is a great deal of propriety, and some real love of doing good no doubt, many times, in making a generous disposition of a large estate by will: and there may be often good reasons for keeping, while one lives, more property than it is expedient to leave to personal heirs. But he who gives away his surplus money while he lives, is wisest, for two reasons. He can be more sure that it is well expended if he superintends that matter himself; and when money is thoroughly expended for some good end, there is no farther trouble in taking care of the money. After a man has acquired as much property as he can possibly have any use for, all his other acquisitions but increase his cares. What rest can a man have who owns fifty stores and houses in this city, and stock in half the banks and insurance companies? Certainly, if he holds his property with the love of money which is so strong in the bosoms of most rich men, he must always be harassed with the apprehension of loss. If he would give three-fourths of his property away, if he could find any good object on which to bestow it, he would then breathe easily and sleep soundly. But we do not expect to persuade men of great wealth to adopt such simple wisdom as this. If we can, by such views, do anything to moderate the desires of young men, we shall do something also to insure them real plenty and happiness all their lives. It is the inordinate desire of enormous wealth that could only be a torment if attained, which causes almost all the bankruptcies among our trading class.

TOKENS OF RESPECT.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, November* 11, 1839.]

We often see it stated that on the opening of the court it was announced that some lawyer practicing at that bar had died, whereupon, as a token of respect, the court immediately adjourned. Legislative assemblies, we are often told do the same, as a token of respect to deceased members of their bodies. We are not able to see how this adjourning is a token of respect. If the individuals who adjourn would retire to their chambers, there to think upon their lives and the end of them, it might show that the death of a comrade had made a suitable impression. But we do not understand that this is considered necessary. The time is spent in ways not particularly appropriate, and often in mere idleness or something worse. What respect there can be to the memory of an industrious man in spending a day of idleness, or to the memory of a good man in spending a day of carousing or

sporting, we do not understand. We can understand how all the laborers on the Croton Water Works might think the same course very appropriate, if only their wages were to go on, and in fact how any set of men who get as much by idleness as by labor, should think themselves very soberly called upon to throw up work whenever there is a death, a birth, or a marriage. This mode of expressing sympathy, however, while it is very convenient for some, is very inconvenient for others. A judge may adjourn and suit himself, but it is not so with panels of jurors and scores of witnesses. And now it strikes us that possibly this is the secret of the thing. Herod, when about to die, knowing that the event would cause universal joy, determined to make sorrow in another way, and so undertook to have a great number of the best men of the nation massacred at the same instant. Some grief is no doubt awakened in the bosoms of the parties of whom we have spoken, by the useless disorder of their affairs and waste of their time, when perhaps but for this, the dead lawyer would hardly have drawn a sigh from any bosom. If this is not it, we should feel much obliged if the next man who moves adjournment on such an occasion, would be good enough to tell us in his speech *how* the adjournment is a token of respect. In our judgment, the best token of respect which can be paid to departed merit is for every one to labor more diligently and earnestly in the performance of his duty.

POSTHUMOUS PRAISE.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, September* 19, 1836.]

It was a practice of the ancient Egyptians to pronounce honestly and impartially on the conduct of their princes after they were dead, however much they might have been eulogized by flatterers during their lives. It was a worthy and useful practice, for men are frequently more anxious to leave a good name behind them, when they are dead, than to rear it while they live. The practice among us is the reverse of that of the Egyptians. If a man occupies a political station, the way is to abuse him while he lives, as the worst of all bad fellows, but the moment he is dead, whether he were really a bad or a good man, all hands turn to praising him; and especially they take care to make him a saint in religion and send him straight to heaven. A plenty of newspaper certificates are put into his hand, that he is a fit subject for that better world, under the impression that they will have the same good influence as a Pope's certificate of

absolution. A man lives in the indulgence of unbridled licentiousness until his heart is hardened to the commission of the most fiendish cruelties to accomplish his designs, and when his head is grown gray in crime, just before the last flickering of the "lingering taper," he wipes his mouth, calls a priest, has a prayer offered to the God whom he has ever before offended, wraps himself up in a hypocrite's cloak, and "wings his way."

That will do for political religion, and is very comforting for those who are determined to take no safer course for themselves. Nor shall we enter into any theological discussion about the matter. We speak only in the name of reason, of the public morals, and the public good. It is rank injustice to all these, to whitewash the corpses of the most odious men, and perfume them for heaven without warrant. It hardens others to expect that they shall die in honor, however they may have lived in disgrace, and to increase the number of their crimes, expecting retribution neither here nor hereafter.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 28, 1838.]

Some ladies have distinguished themselves by declaiming against the oppression of women, which they say exists in our Christian land. They say women are kept in a condition of inferiority to men, and that of right they ought to be equal. We have been thinking the matter over, and have come to the conclusion that the wrong is quite the other way; and that if rights ought to be divided half and half, we would be for a new division. Not on the ground upon which Miss Grimké goes, that men are not women, or permitted to engage in women's occupations, but because, when the simple question of superiority is at issue, the men always have to give up. If ladies and gentlemen meet on the side-walk, who has to turn out? If there are not seats enough for all the company, who has to stand up? When there is danger to face, who must go forward? If there is curiosity to gratify, who goes behind? If there is too much company for the first table, who eats at the second? Who has always the right hand and the most respectable position? We could mention a hundred other cases, in which, on the simple question of right, everything is yielded to the women. But there are many cases in which the condition of men is still worse. For instance, if on any public occasion a pew at church, or a seat anywhere, be occupied by men ever so respectable or aged, a

smirky little beauty trips along and presents herself at the top of the seat, and they must all jump up and clear out as if they had been shot. Especially ought it to be noticed, that when matrimonial negotiations are to be made, the whole burden of performing the delicate and often very embarrassing part of making proposals is thrown upon the men, while the women sit and say no, no, no, as long as they like, and never say yes until they have a mind to. Mrs. Angelina Grimké Weld may show a catalogue of equal grievances.

ST. PATRICK'S SOCIETY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, March* 17, 1846.]

Sure, our Irish fellow-citizens, who have come of their own free-will to the land of St. Jonathan, are to have a grand dinner to-day, in honor of St. Patrick and their own appetites, at the City Hotel. We wish every son of an Irish mother could sit down and rest himself, and eat of the good things. St. Patrick, you know, was the saint that preached a great sermon to the snakes and frogs, and persuaded them all to quit swate Ireland, except one great old snake, and the saint had to "come Paddy over him." St. Patrick had a big iron chest, and he made a bet with the snake that he could not get into the chest. The snake, to win the bet, got in all but his head, which he kept out from some suspicion that he could not altogether expel from his bosom, whereupon the saint flung down the huge cover of the chest, and the snake, to save his head, was obliged to jerk it in. But the spring-lock held fast, and St. Patrick immediately flung the iron chest, snake and all, into the Lake of Killarney, where it lies at the bottom now. About the truth of this legend, there never was the least doubt; and now, if any Irishman should iver commit a bit o' disiption, he can point to the patron saint, and the good he did in that same way. St. Patrick, we hope, will preside at this dinner to-day, and bless all the hearty cheer of it, just the same as he would if it had been in old Cork, to be sure. At any rate, this bringing of Patrick and Jonathan and all the national saints *thegither*, in the social way, has a great effect in promoting good nature among them.

FAMILY GOVERNMENT.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April* 25, 1839.]

Columns of newspapers and volumes of books have been written on this subject, and to very good purpose in many cases. But after all, the secret is more in a nut-shell than is commonly supposed. The greatest secret in the whole matter consists in being a truly good parent. Your children see you in your domestic carelessness. They know the real character of their parents better than persons do who live in other houses, and who only see you when you are on your guard. If they find their parents unkind to each other, or failing in any way to maintain in private the characters which they assume in public, their respect is gone—their confidence broken down. If your child has ever known you to be guilty of telling a lie, how can you govern him? If he knows you have cheated a neighbor, how can you govern him? If he sees you in public, putting on the air and manner, and claiming to be a Christian, while in his close watchings he sees that you are full of pride, and vanity, and bitter feelings, and ambition, and covetousness; that all your religion goes off at the corners of the streets, and none of it in your bed-chamber; how can you govern your child?

First, then, *be a good man*, and a good father.

Secondly, *govern yourself* always, and without the least degree of unfair charity toward yourself. The laws you enact for your children, never break yourself. If you break out with bad passion, and excuse yourself, you must certainly be as generous to your children, and excuse them for the same fault in the same way. How can you govern your children if you cannot govern yourself?

Thirdly, let all your requirements be just and generous; never given for your own good, but always for the good of your children.

Fourthly, spare no pains—give yourself no rest in body or mind—while anything remains to be done which can enlighten the understandings or sweeten the affections of your children.

Fifthly, let your orders be wisely given, and then maintained at all hazards and at all times. Never in one instance, allow your word to fail. Trust chiefly to kindness, and persuasion, and reasoning, and use punishment of any sort as little as possible. But let it be always understood that obedience, full and entire, must be yielded to your directions, and that you will, though with great considerateness and affection, never slacken your hand, nor relax your demands until such obedience is rendered.

Mind these rules, and with very little severity in any way, you

will seldom fail of securing all the benefits of a reciprocally affectionate and well-ordered family.

POLITICS AND RELIGION.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, March* 12, 1835.]

Our brethren of the type, in this city, are in great trouble lest the Legislature of Massachusetts should refuse to repair the damages occasioned by the Charlestown riots. An extract from one of them we have already published. Another writes as follows:

"We did expect from the known liberality and justice of the Boston people, that they would have rebuilt the convent by subscription; by a capitation tax; by an appeal to the honor, to the justice, to the manhood of the community; by a sense of respect due to the outraged laws; by the ordinances of civilization; by the usage, and feeling, and chivalry, of a brave and gallant people; we looked to see these Catholic women reïnstated in their dwelling, with all honor and repentance—reïnstated in their rights and in their property—the criminals punished, and the laws triumphant.

"This not having been done by the people, in their individual capacity, does not lessen the obligations of the State to do them justice; and we hope, for their own honor—for the opinion of the world—for the high character and reputation the State enjoys—that the claim of these people will be allowed; no matter whether it is called a debt or a gratuity."

We hear nothing from these compassionate editors about the New York riots. Their expansive benevolence overleaps such narrow limits. The poor blacks, whose houses were torn down, or rifled of their contents,—there is no propriety in indemnifying *them* from the public treasury, or by subscription, or by a capitation tax; for, with a few exceptions, they are not permitted to vote; and if they were, they would have too much discernment not to see through the flimsy artifice by which it is sought to cajole our "adopted fellow-citizens." Neither is there any propriety in providing indemnity from the public treasury, or by subscription, or by a capitation tax, for the damage done to Presbyterian, Episcopal, or Methodist churches, for the obvious reason that neither of those denominations would be gulled by such an act of "justice," to vote for the party making the appropriation. Besides, the party in this State which controls the purse-strings is the antipodes of that which holds the reins of power in Massachusetts, and of course an opposite effect might be produced.

It is with reluctance that we allude to this subject, in such a

connection, at all. But if political editors are determined to mix up Church and State for the accomplishment of their purposes; if, for the sake of getting votes, they will afford countenance and encouragement to one sect, at the expense of the rest, they may rest assured we will *oppose* and *expose* them, to whichever party they may belong. We are willing, and desire, that the Catholics should have an equal chance with all other denominations; but if, at the approach of every election, political papers are to turn aside from the proper sphere of their labors to puff the Catholic religion for the sake of obtaining votes, they need not wonder if countervailing measures are adopted. We hold that politics and religion should be kept distinct. They cannot be united for any good purpose, and we entreat those who have influence in such matters, not to make the attempt. If, however, religion *must* be dragged into our political contests, we say let it be frankly avowed. Let the people know what the question before them is, and they will decide accordingly.

EXPEDIENT AND ABSTRACT.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 18, 1836.]

THESE are a couple of words which certain modern casuists have taken great pains to run down. The pronunciation of either of them instantly causes the lips of these men to curl and their noses to turn up at the end. And yet both these words have long occupied well-known places in the English language, and have been words of great use and usefulness. As to the first, it means fit, proper, or that which is right and judicious; in fact, it means duty, upon a comprehensive view of all the circumstances in the case. It is common for logicians when discussing a particular measure, to inquire, first, whether it is lawful, and second, whether it is expedient. The Apostle Paul made the same division when he said all things were lawful to him, but all things were not expedient; and announced that he made the latter the rule of his conduct. The reason of this is obvious. Expediency always includes lawfulness, and is a rule of duty which includes all other rules. What do men propose to gain by quarreling with this good word and trying to blacken and spoil it? What good do they propose to accomplish by their labors? Is it that if they could succeed, they might shape their course by the rule of inexpediency? *That* is the opposite of expediency, and if we might judge from many of their projects, inexpediency is their guide.

Abstract,—what is the matter with that? whom has it wronged, that war should be made upon it? It is often used to express the idea of a subject in its primitive qualities, and divested of those incidental circumstances which may attach to it, but are not its essential ingredients. For instance, if one of these philosophers were required to take a dose of tartar emetic, that in the *abstract* might be very undesirable. But if he had a fever in his blood, (as sometimes such men have,) and the medicine was likely to remove it, why, then, the conclusion would be reversed, and to take it might be highly *expedient*. For ourselves we intend to use these persecuted words just as we have been accustomed to do; and if we can prevent it, not to suffer them to be either killed or belied into a bad character. They are good and honorable words. If they were *expunged* from the dictionary, there would be two ideas, which we should often have, but could not express; certainly not so well as we can now. Those who do not like the words need not use them. But we venture to say, that however many persons may try to destroy them, they are so safely intrenched within the massy tomes of Dr. Webster, that they will bid defiance to all their assailants.

BETTING ON ELECTIONS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, October* 1, 1834.]

We do not introduce this subject because we think anything we can say will do much good. There is too much interest in gambling of all sorts to be checked by anything but stern principle. It may not be amiss, however, to remind our fellow-citizens that betting is a violation of both moral and civil law; and that those who boast of being supporters of the laws should not wantonly transgress them. But betting upon elections is violating the law under circumstances which aggravate the offense beyond the mere sin of getting possession of another's property without right. It is putting the high franchise of freemen at the stake of the gambler. It is a political sacrilege. Besides this, it throws into our contests with one another, at the polls, a double spirit of violence, when without this addition, the mass of passion would be quite sufficiently great. Every man who bets on an election encourages, perhaps begins, in himself and in his antagonist, a practice which often has led, and may again lead, to ruin. If he loses, he parts with his money without any equivalent. If he wins, he comes into the possession of property without right, his title to which can never be made good, and for which he

must owe the righttul owner to the day of his death: and even that event will not cancel the obligation. This may be thought a mighty serious view of a little betting. But it is no more serious than true. No man's sentiments are right, and no man is safe who cannot always say with truth, "I never bet."

USURY LAWS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 31, 1834.]

Professor Dew, of William and Mary College, Virginia, has published a well-written "Essay on the Interests of Money and the Policy of Laws against Usury." He exhibits the ill effect of such laws upon the pecuniary interests of lenders and borrowers, and upon the public morals. He takes the ground which every writer must take, who would have the reputation of possessing the least particle of good sense. The superiority of the principles of free trade in regard to money, is indeed now, we believe, universally admitted. Yet such is the sluggishness of legislation, and the fear of offending the prejudices of a few persons who live in the dark, that usury laws are still almost everywhere maintained. Even in the enlightened State of Massachusetts it was with difficulty that some modification was secured last winter. In Holland there are no usury laws, and there the rate of interest is lower than anywhere else in the world.

Those who suffer most severely, under usury laws, are the money borrowers; and especially those in bad credit. This is quite just; for such laws have their origin in the efforts of such persons unfairly to curtail the profits of those with whom they deal. But instead of accomplishing their object, they subject themselves to the payment of the penalties which they desire to inflict on others: for in addition to the rate of interest which they would otherwise be compelled to pay, they must pay the lender a premium to guarantee him against injury from the violation of the laws.

Usury laws do much to increase the severity of money pressures. When money is scarce, the price of it rises, as does the price of everything else under the same circumstances. High prices were instituted as part of the system, for the purpose of drawing in supplies more rapidly. When money is high, there is generally a want of confidence, which in some degree prevents its being brought freely into market as other commodities are when they are scarce. Usury laws increase the evil, for they keep

many sums of money back, either because the owners will not break the laws of the country, however bad, or because they will not, for any premium, put their capital at the risk of legal forfeiture. Usury laws operate to aggravate the mischief they are intended to cure, and in every way do mischief and nothing else.

QUACKERY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, November* 22, 1884.]

THERE is nothing about which it is more easy to gull the public than the remedies for the decay of nature. Men trust their lives in hands where they would not think a shilling safe, and are induced to do so by the very arguments which, applied to money, would destroy their confidence entirely. If a man were to come here from a distant country and advertise in all the papers that he could so conduct all the branches of business as to insure unheard-of profits, would the people flock to him with their money? They would understand that such pretensions were in themselves proof of imposture. But if a stranger advertises that he will cure all diseases with one remedy, and declares most roundly that if he were universal doctor, death would be driven from the world, he will probably have plenty of patients who commit health and life to his quackery. The doctor in Connecticut, some twenty years ago, who cured consumption in all its stages with rain-water drops, was an innocent fellow enough, especially as he charged nothing for his drops, and only made each patient buy a book full of certificates of his wonderful cures. But most quacks do not deal in rain-water. Their nostrums either kill or cure, and generally it is the former. Yet they declare they never lost a patient. There have been some such quacks in cholera practice, who have asserted roundly that all their patients recovered, when in fact corpses were strewed all along their path,—many of them killed without the help of cholera at all. The more safe impositions of quackery are practiced upon the cure of diseases of *parts* of the system,—such as the eyes, the ears, the teeth, &c. One declares he can make a bald head sprout with all the freshness of youth, and cause ringlets to flow from an old poll as luxuriantly as they do upon the head of a mermaid. He has plenty of certificates of success, and thousands pay freely a dollar, or whatever the price may be, for a vial of the precious fructifying liquid, and apply it from day to day to their unvegetating pates, and wait, and feel, and look in

the glass, to catch the first germinations of new locks,—but wait in vain. They find at last that the only way to fulfil the promise of the quack, is to buy a "scratch" of the barber. Deafness can be cured infallibly by filling the ears with "the Imperial never-failing, sound-restoring sonorific," poured warm upon the tympanum. Hundreds try it, and all hear less than ever; though a few, imagining that they hear noises which were never made, give certificates of wonderful cures. But the teeth, they are the glory of quackery. No one, so far as we know, has ever promised to make new teeth grow in old gums. But it would be a good thing: crowds would buy "the royal tooth-restoring drops." As it is, teeth are pulled out without giving pain, and old stumps filled up so as to be as good as new, and new teeth put in of imperishable materials, which last perhaps a year. All their work is but mischief, for whoever deposits anything but gold in his teeth, makes a grand mistake. However, it is useless to write against quacks. They are the standing subjects of ridicule and contempt, and yet so fond are people of being fooled with, that quacks will always find plenty of customers, and so will laugh at moralists and satirists.

MOBS.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, November* 19, 1835.]

To everything there is a season, and mobs have had theirs. It was a long time since the sway of the laws had been interrupted, and while the public mind was highly excited on other subjects, and in security on this, the peace and order of society were repeatedly violated. The potentates of Europe and all the enemies of free institutions chuckled in their sleeves, and some of our own citizens thought the time had come in which the great question of the supremacy of the laws or of mob violence, was to be determined. They who understand best the workings of public opinion, however, had never any trouble on this head. There is no more danger that Americans will surrender the reign of laws under which they lie down securely at night and go about their avocations by day, than that they will go back to the condition of colonies to Great Britain. This community will no more tolerate mobs, than any other method of trampling the laws under foot. That there never will be any popular risings hereafter, we cannot say. If men will insist on saying and doing the most irritating things, the baser sort may, perhaps, sometimes determine that they will not bear it, and may throw

addled eggs and break windows, hiss, and all that. It is well for those who deal with the public to bear these propensities in mind, and not pour out anathemas just exactly as they might if every man whom they abuse, was a man of sound good sense. Yet we prophesy that the time is at hand when the "liberty of speech and the press" will not be able to provoke any harder return than words, and when those who court persecution will find no little difficulty in winning its laurels. This community will never submit to mobs but on a surprise,—neither will they give up one iota of their liberty of speech or the press, or make any laws upon the subject, however much that liberty may be abused. We reason down error here, and by that resistless weapon will all violence of every sort be subdued. For ourselves we feel perfectly secure of the reign of the laws, liberty and truth, supported by an enlightened public opinion.

A STRANGE BIRD.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April* 25, 1835.]

THE *Catholic Miscellany* has had the impudence to adopt as its device the American Eagle with the shield and stripes,—holding in the right talon a cross, and in the other a Popish chalice. This desecration of our noble bird, in making him, while he stands forth as the emblem of our political Union, to hold out the emblems of a state religion, and that the most oppressive which the world ever saw, will be little relished by the *native-born* sons of America. Our eagle wears no miter, and holds no chalice filled with the bitter dregs of imposture, pollution and tyranny. Let the Catholics remove our shield and stripes, and they may then hold up their eagle as they like. He will then be an Austrian bird, and the emblems he holds will set forth the iron government they represent. But the stripes and the chalice—not yet—no, nor ever.

MIRACLES.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, February* 16, 1843.]

A GENTLEMAN who had the privilege of listening to a sermon by the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes last Sabbath morning, informs us that the scope of the prelate's discourse went to show that the Church possessed all the powers now which it had in the

time of the apostles; and that the bishops, who are the veritable successors of the apostles, have the same power of working miracles now, which the Apostles possessed, if only they should please to use it. We hope if the right reverend gentleman should ever feel in the mood of working a miracle, he will not turn his attention toward us; though if he should, and will but give us notice, we will let him see that we can work as many miracles as he. We can make the blood of St. Januarius liquefy as quick as any priest of the most regular ordination; and as to living without eating, we can beat the Addolarata of the Tyrol, for we will leave it to fifty men in Wall street whether they have seen us eat anything these ten years.

EXCITEMENT.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, August* 12, 1835.]

THERE are a great many persons who seem to live on mental excitement, as some others do on that which is animal. These persons, by long indulgence, acquire an appetite for excitement so strong, that it cannot be satisfied with peaceful scenes. They are therefore driven to the indulgence of bad passions. With malice, revenge, envy, and other things of similar character, they are able to mix a portion sufficiently intoxicating to strain up their relaxed nerves and fit them for action. Some such persons live in an endless ebriety of exasperation. They cannot be happy unless they are mad, and have not heart for action until they have drunk down and again thrown off plentiful quantities of curses upon their fellow-men in general, and upon a great many of them in particular. Such persons love to meet together to drink from a common cup mingled by their common contributions of bile, and as this is not sufficient, they will hire others and pay them liberally to help them keep up their rage. Their choice of books, and newspapers, and periodicals, is ever directed to that which will sustain in them the most malicious excitement. A publication, which recommends prudence, conciliation, and good nature, is as tasteless to them as cold water to a drunkard of fourscore. If you touch one of these persons with a pole, you instantly feel a shock like that communicated by the electric fluid. You can never hope to be agreeable to them unless you have just lost a debt or had your corns trod on. If they should once become really good-natured, and a flash of genuine and broad benevolence should pass over them, there would be great reason to fear that the functions of life would cease.

[This little *jeu-d'esprit* has some historical interest in these days of railroads and telegraphs.]

THE MAIL.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, March* 16, 1833.]

One of our cotemporaries stated yesterday, on what he said was good authority, that the Postmaster-General was about to establish a *daily* mail between Washington and New York. Such a thing would be a desideratum, especially if it should *get here* every day. We believe there is a mail now which starts from Washington almost every day. The fact is, perhaps, that the Postmaster-General is about to establish an *extra* mail to run from Washington to Portland, and perform the extraordinary service of keeping to a fixed time, and that a reasonable one. The irregular operations will, perhaps, remain to be performed on the old plan: for, to bring the whole system up to business-like accuracy, and manage it as an individual would manage his own affairs, would be quite too much. We must, therefore, have one mail line to go right, and another to go *wrong*. If a dispatch mail should be established, we hope it will be on the plan of *carrying* the mail. To drive coaches from one end of the country to the other without the news on board, might be a matter of great exactness, but would accomplish little good. The Postmaster-General's double horse express between Philadelphia and New York, dashed through the mud in good style, but the difficulty was, it did not bring the news!

SOUTH CAROLINA NULLIFICATION—COCK-A-DOODLE-DOO.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April* 1, 1833.]

We wonder if South Carolina is bigger than all the rest of the world? We should think so from the vaporing of the Nullifiers—and that their 17,000 undisciplined volunteers were more than a match for all the armies of Europe. No doubt the whole United States has been terrified into submission by seeing a few refuse muskets and old ship cannon bought of the Yankees at Yankee prices, and shipped to Carolina in Yankee vessels, to be thrown aside, as the Yankees well knew they would be, without ever being used except to shoot partridges with, or to make a big noise at a Fourth-of-July celebration. The large bird, whose watchword we have placed at the beginning of this paragraph, is always most valiant after being exposed to danger, and none the less so because he owes his escape to the magna-

nimity of his foes. We will not compare the Nullifiers exactly with a rooster, nor the United States with a rooster's foe. But it is ridiculous to hear a single State talk of *frightening* the other twenty-three States into terms. No, it was a principle very different from fear, which led to the liberal concessions of Mr. Clay's bill; a principle as different as light is from darkness. The question was, between submitting to the disgrace which South Carolina threatened to inflict upon the nation, or avoiding that disgrace by making concessions which many supposed she had no right to claim. The twenty-three States preferred the latter. So, if twenty-four men were in a ship with powder on board, and one of them should take it into his head to play the bully, and proclaim on his oath that he would blow her up "sky high, sir," unless they would convert her into a brig, they might perhaps come to his terms,—or at least consent that after a certain date she should be converted into a brig, rather than run the hazard of taking a trip to the moon in company with their troublesome shipmate. There would be only one other course they could pursue with any safety, viz., to put the fellow in irons, and feed him on bread and water, till he learned to behave himself. But this would be very unpleasant, and the reputation of the thing would be bad. It would be better to avoid open collision if possible, even though it were quite as easy to put the man in irons, as to convert the ship into a brig. Such a man might pride himself very much on "restoring peace" to the ship's company, seeing it depended upon him and his "high courage" to say whether they should have peace or not. In other words, he alone was the disturber of the peace, and of course when he ceased to disturb it, he restored it to the ship's company.

"OUR COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG."

[*From the Journal of Commerce, March* 12, 1839.]

SUCH a sentiment, in the mouth of a warrior by profession, like Decatur, might be tolerated, or even applauded. But when contemplated as a part of a system of ethics, its deformities begin to appear. We do not like the notion of doing wrong, or supporting wrong done by others, let the circumstances be what they may. We think there is a nobler sentiment of patriotism than this, and that in truth this sentiment of "our country right or wrong" grows hard by the other of "charity begins at home." The same sentiment is applied in a good many cases, and in none

more frequently than in the matter of political partisanship. "Our party, right or wrong," is the test to which most political leaders subject their partisans, and if on such occasions they were to put down all the thoughts of their hearts, they would add, "whether our country sinks or swims." Next comes our State against all other States; Philadelphia against New York; our town against all other towns; and myself against every body, right or wrong; for "Charity begins *at home*." To be sure if our country, or our State, or any community to which we belong, becomes engaged in controversy with another community, we owe certain duties as citizens, which must be performed, and caution ought to be observed in condemning the measures of our own government. But to proclaim a cause to be good and just when we know it bad and unjust, merely because it is the cause of our town, party, or State, or nation, is far enough from being a virtue. Patriots of this sort, we should expect would stick to their patriotism just as long as they supposed it to be for their individual interest, and no longer. Real patriots, who may be trusted, are men of genuine honesty, who love the truth, and men of expanded benevolence also, who love all men wherever they may live.

This thought suggests another objection which lies against the doctrine at the head of this article, and which is zealously shouted by so many men. It is, that genuine patriotism is founded on benevolence, or the love of all men, and so is a principle which would revolt from doing wrong to any nation or any individual. And there is reason in this. Why should a citizen of these United States, in the present emergency, go heedlessly with his own country against Great Britain, any more now, than he would if Great Britain were a part of this Union? Our interests are nearly as much identified now, as they possibly could be. What if the Atlantic rolls between us? The same thing is true of Mississippi. But New Brunswick is only separated from us by a line which is imaginary and occupies no space. Why should we hate men, or go against them right or wrong, merely because they live on the other side of a degree of longitude? What is that degree of longitude, more than another degree of longitude? What if our neighbor is associated in civility with another community—is there anything hateful in that? How miserable is that benevolence which covers only one's little self, or town, or nation, compared with that which reaches to every fellow-being wherever he lives, and whatever may be his circumstances! The latter principle is not only incomparably more noble than the former, but, in fact, is an elevated virtue, while the former is in general a low and selfish vice. There is one government to which all men

belong. That government is generous, and kind, and boundless in its benevolence. He who bounds his affections by some little spot of earth, needs to be taught what are the first principles of moral greatness. Whomsoever we make war upon, they are our brethren. Read the Bible, and see if it is not so. You will find there the constitution of confederated worlds: and you will learn there to say, "my country—I love her, and I will never consent to her doing wrong." Then you will be a patriot who may be trusted.

LIBERTY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, May* 21, 1839.]

In almost all men there is a strong love of personal liberty, and along with it a desire to encroach on the liberty of others. The love of power, like the love of gain, is a common passion. There are few associations formed, either political, religious, literary, or of any other kind, in which there will not directly be found some men who will seek to control the rest: and this disposition will be carried out with a vigilance and perseverance which are quite surprising. If you see three chimney-sweeps together, you will almost certainly see the stoutest assuming to govern the rest; and so it is whether the community be high or low, black or white, dirty or clean. Even the animals have the same love of superiority; for you will hardly see a flock of dogs in the street (New Yorkers can try this experiment any day) but you will observe a fight, or at least a snarl, among the stoutest of them, to determine who shall be the greatest. Under such circumstances, every man who would be truly free must watch his liberty as he does his cash. He is the only real and genuine lover of liberty, who loves it for its own sake; who not only loves to be free himself, but loves to see others so; and who would never be at ease while he knew that he exercised an undue control over the freedom of any other person. Many men think they love liberty, and talk largely in its praise,—perhaps become the head demagogues of a grog-shop or a town, who will after all show themselves the most unsparing taskmasters whenever they get a chance. Even the gentler sex are not entirely free from this wide-pervading passion. The lady superiors of nunneries, and a thousand other places, make this fact felt upon their cringing inferiors. We take it that the reason why we are freer than the nations a thousand years ago, is not that no men or women, of tyrant disposition, can be found now-a-days, nor that there has been in fact much differ

ence in this respect in different ages, but only that the great mass of the people assert their rights with greater vigor than formerly. Americans must not suppose that either in religion or politics, it will be sufficient that their fathers declared themselves free, and all men equal, and planted the tree of liberty deep in their soil, and made it grow with surpassing beauty. Unless it is watched, it will die, and stand as unseemly as a decayed Lombardy poplar. Let every one look to his own case, and see whether he deals with those in all his associations who allow the fundamental American principles that all men are equal, and that sovereignty is with the people and nowhere else; and let him not wait until he feels the screws upon his own thumbs before he considers himself oppressed, but whenever and wherever those principles of popular control are denied, which are the only safeguards of liberty.

TYRANNY OF LIBERTY.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, February* 8, 1840.]

MANY Europeans have been scandalized of late years to find that out of the liberty of the United States had grown a tyranny more fearful than any that is exercised by the absolute sovereigns of Europe or Asia. It is the tyranny of the majority, or of public opinion. M. de Tocqueville, in his discussions about the democracy of the United States, dwells much on this. He has been much and deservedly praised, for he seems to have a great deal of intelligence and independent honesty of thought: yet he seldom gets right, exactly. He measures and guages our institutions by rods and scales made with great niceness upon the most approved principles of the science of government, but the real thing of liberty, the secret of what it is, he evidently never got hold of. He could see that liberty constituted in some respects a *stronger* government than absolutism, and he thought that strength was tyranny. He says the tyranny of public opinion in the United States goes beyond that of the Inquisition in Spain; for that the Inquisition was never able, with all its terrors, wholly to suppress the circulation of infidel books; whereas public opinion in the United States prevents any man from wishing to even *print* them. This was as well as a man who had studied government as a science, could explain the mystery which he saw. But in truth, what he saw was the perfection of liberty. The tortures of the Inquisition could never extinguish the curiosity of the public to see and know the contents of the books for which the suffering was endured. Be-

sides, those tortures always excited sympathy for the sufferers; and although the Popish priest might be in the outset right, the manner in which he maintained the truth, put him in the wrong. The process therefore fed opposition to itself, and possessed in itself the elements of its own defeat. It continually excited the sympathy and the curiosity of the people, and whenever they could, they would indulge these feelings. But in the United States heretics of all sorts are now treated fairly. They, therefore, get no sympathy. Their cause is put upon its intrinsic merits. Then it is discussed freely. Every one reads and hears as much as he pleases, and so makes up his opinion. When this process of investigation has gone on until all are satisfied, and the error is universally condemned, then comes up the tyranny of public opinion, as it is called. It consists in the fact that every man has studied the subject until he is satisfied, and so will study no more. The books cease to sell, and the affair has gone by. Fanny Wright and her associates have had fair play. They have preached, and written, and explained, and enforced, until the good sense and intelligence of the people has brought them to reject infidelity and brand it as a great, and dangerous, and palpable error. The discussion is ended; the books will not sell; the people will not go to the lectures, and the plans of the infidels are overthrown and put down by the free decision of every man for himself, as no fires or tortures of any sort could overthrow them. Men who belong to the minority are very apt to complain of the tyranny of the majority. The majority is sometimes truly tyrannical. But such tyranny is in general of a mild type, and the grand safeguard against this tyranny is, that discussion is *left free*. If the majority acts violently and oppressively, discussion will wear away its influence as the sun subdues the banks of snow and ice, and the tyrannical majority will, before it is aware, find its power gone. But discussion in arbitrary governments cannot be had; and if it could, where would be the use of convincing the tyrant that the indulgence of his cruel passions was wrong. Right and wrong are not the landmarks or the motives of his policy. But in a republic, where the power is all really in the hands of the people, tyranny will always find a ready counteraction. All the good and bad feelings of those who witness it, rise against it, and it is soon overthrown. Majorities here have to conduct themselves with great circumspection, and our experience has made us believe that the only way for any party long to maintain itself here in power, is, to pursue in the main a policy favorable to the public interests. So the tyranny of liberty is in the main only the perfection of liberty.

INDEPENDENCE.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, September* 23, 1840.]

Scarcely anything is more desired, or more misunderstood, than independence. When a man has acquired a great amount of property, and has a great number of tenants, and clerks, and servants, and above all a vast circle of fashionable acquaintances, so that the keeping of his happiness is in a thousand hands, from some one of which he is always suffering, then he is called independently rich. He cannot appear abroad without the help of a retinue, nor then but on condition of being dressed exactly so, and conforming without scruple to all the follies and sins which the fashion of his class decrees,—all for the sake of being independent.

In judging of independence in others, men commonly take themselves as the standard. They think all other men who think and act as they do, independent. Thus a politician, so long as he adheres to the opposite party, is a slave to party discipline, to bribery, corruption, the possession or the hope of office. But so soon as he comes over to our side, he instantly shows that he is a man of sterling independence. He has broken the shackles of party, which his generous spirit could no longer brook. Men love independence in themselves, and think they admire it in others. Above all they admire it in an editor. An independent press is the *beau ideal*, the beautiful thing, of their admiration. Especially in a free country, and among an intelligent and moral people every body says the press should be independent. Yet how few there are who mean by this anything but a press which will reiterate just what they themselves think and believe. To be unconvinced by arguments which are so convincing, and to differ in opinion from men so universally in the right as themselves, is a kind of independence which few men will endure. They cannot understand how any one can be so perverse as to differ from them, except under the influence of some bank or other hot-spring of corruption. There is nothing about which men desire an independent press so much as in the matter of politics; and there is no topic on which they bear independence so poorly. About these matters, there is nothing excites more anger than simple statements of well authenticated facts. Even some good men get so becrazed, that although they will labor industriously, and give their money freely to support and spread the truth in other departments, they will not consent to have a newspaper about their premises unless it will repeat all the falsehoods, vituperation, and personal blackguard of the party press.

Bonaparte wrote to his wife very truly, "There are no such

slaves as we." So it is generally. The higher men rise in authority as it is called, the more completely are they subject to the control of those whom they govern. The more they succeed in the accumulation of money or power, the more they render themselves dependent. True independence is best secured in narrow circles, by prudence, industry, and integrity, and a generous distribution of surplus possessions to supply the deficiencies of others.

WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

[*From the Journal of Commerce, April* 11, 1848.]

THE English language having been constructed before the French Revolution of February, 1848, possesses no words adequate to characterize that event, and the events which have succeeded. When thrones which have stood for ages are overthrown by the dozen, there is no use in trying to do more than to state the simple facts as they occur. They are their own most eloquent description. To call them astonishing, astounding, or benumbing, is a tame expression. We should like to hear the transcendental philosophers attempting just now to define "the idea of a state"—that mysterious, superstitious nonenity of theirs. The full idea of what has happened no one possesses, and so it is not likely to be expressed.

Something unseen must have been working underneath those thrones for years, or they could not have fallen so easily. Nobody seems to possess any power but the people; no principle to have energy but liberty. Both these do their pleasure. Standing armies, garrisoned castles, family alliances, all those arrangements in which kings have hitherto trusted so securely, are powerless now. What has done all this? Certainly we have *seen* nothing adequate to the production of such great changes. We all thought that superstition toward the church and the State held Austria as the nightmare; but the people prove to be infidels to both. We reckon that ideas have been eating under these thrones; truth has been there at work, quite silently, but very powerfully. Men have been *thinking*, and have learned that they had *rights*. This is the heaving of thought, with exceedingly little of physical force.

Almost all Europe is revolutionized into constitutional governments, to be controlled by the people. Even Russia, reposing in the cold North, is not content to be quiet. In that vast empire

the controversy of feeling is between the nobles on one side, and the Emperor and the people on the other.

The greatest of all wonders in the matter, is the high conduct of the mobs. Kings flee, or stay to concede, at discretion; and rich men, panic-stricken, break all property in pieces, and trample commercial order under foot; while mobs act with a coolness, integrity and conservatism, which puts the "upper classes" to shame. What ails the men who have managed all the great political and commercial affairs of Continental Europe? Are they conscience-stricken, or only destitute of courage? Surely all the small souls must have floated to the top of society, just at this time. The people have done nothing but change the shape of politics. They have everywhere conducted with a moderation which excites the world's wonder. They protect life, property, all but tyranny and bad government. To be sure, nobody knows what they *will* do; but so far as they *have* done, no congress of sovereigns ever exhibited so much soundness of principle or propriety of action. If the wise men who despise those they count below them, had but exhibited as much character as the mob, these commercial disorders would have been avoided. We confess we think better of men in their low estate, for these statesman-like opinions and movements of the masses. Many of the doctrines they proclaim are perfectly true, and put to shame our usury laws, and protective tariffs, and post-office monopolies. We cannot say what is to be; for we do not know. But we say that the rich people of France have precipitated their own ruin, and we hope to see, "liberty, equality, fraternity," in their truest, and most philanthropic sense, seated firmly in the government of a free French Republic.

Americans must remember that their hand is in all these strikes for liberty. Our example, our principles, and our prosperity under them, have done more to break down the superstitions on which arbitrary governments rested, than all things else. The letters which immigrants to this country have sent back to their friends, have furnished a vast amount of reliable information. Europe is engaged now, with the most intense interest, in studying America. Her leading spirits have, for years, been eagerly inquisitive of all Americans who came in their way. American books, from being rejected as worthless, are now eagerly sought for. We could point to a literary American traveler in Europe, who has orders from a dozen royal libraries there, to buy American books. The British Museum appropriated £2000 for the purchase of every book published in America, illustrative, in any way, of American affairs. European statesmen draw Americans to close intimacy with themselves, and we suppose we could

name at least one American who is coöperating with M. Lamartine and his associates in the great labor of preparing the project of a constitution for France, to be submitted to the convention of nine hundred. At such a time the principles which we avow, and the practices which we adopt, are full of extraordinary importance. Let us show ourselves, every man of us, a true supporter of liberty and good order. If it is possible, we would that the firemen of Philadelphia should be so impressed with the dignity of their position, while the governments of Europe are reconstructing, as to be awed into good behavior. Let us all be generous to the people who have done such wonders in so wonderful a way. Let us not be too coy of our confidence that they who have begun so well, will go on well to the end. How immeasurably is the difficulty of French affairs increased by the panic among the rich and influential. They could not have fared worse, if they had stood firmly at their posts during this storm, and kept up the life-pulse of business. How may the whole current of destiny be changed by throwing so many thousands out of employment at such a crisis. But we trust that the great principles which the people have so nobly avowed and hitherto sustained, will carry them safely through. It will be a good time then for the timid to come back to their avocations.

HOW TO SPREAD THE GOSPEL.

[*Introduction to Professor Turner's "Kingdom of Heaven."*]

WHAT Paul said to the Athenians, may still be said to almost every collection of men,—"Ye are too superstitious." The human mind looks naturally and earnestly to the senses, for in them it is accustomed to confide. It longs to have its gods, its priesthood, and its rites made such that they can be seen and handled. To introduce and sustain a religion purely spiritual, has been more pertinaciously opposed than any other measure of God's moral government. The Israelites would be continually setting up something material to personify their ideas of the Deity, and the same propensity still beats high in human blood. Romanism followed out this propensity and floated on its current until, in the name of Christianity, she had reinstated the same fabric of idolatry which the same propensity had before erected, and which Christ came to overthrow. Every memorable event around which the affections of Christians had clustered, was bodied forth in gold and silver, or on canvass, and these images absorbing the affections which the events had excited, soon came

to be themselves loved and reverenced. The cross had transferred to it the merit of the sacrifice of Christ, and men in their ignorance, fell down before the wood, no longer striving to understand and feel the power of the atonement. Paganism does not pretend that images are real gods, but that the gods are *in* the images. So Popery would set forth God and the atonement by imagery, but soon the vitality of truth fades away, and a stupid adoration is paid to matter. Christ sought to strip all places, all men, and all things, of this superstitious reverence, and to hold up truth and a spiritual religion before man, that his soul might be purified, elevated, and made meet for an heavenly inheritance. But the superstition which still hangs over the most enlightened communities, and the most spiritual minds, warns every man who examines society or himself, of the dreadful weight of sense which still bears us downward to the earth and its debasement. Who, that examines himself, will not find in his mind some reverence for the *house* in which he has often worshiped, and especially for the *desk* from which truths which he loved and felt, have been so often uttered, and perhaps still more for the *man* who has stood there and proclaimed those truths. Shreds of Romanism there are perhaps, not yet thoroughly torn away from our habits of thinking, or perhaps new threads woven by our own dispositions, or perhaps both, twisting together and strengthening each other. We think the Catholic a besotted devotee, who will pray only in his church, while we perhaps go up to our own meeting-houses with just the same feeling, that God is there more than elsewhere, and that prayer offered there will more surely be answered. It is exceedingly difficult for Christian churches to divest themselves of the notion that some mysterious divine power has been transferred to them, and still more difficult, I judge, for ecclesiastical bodies to divest themselves of the notion, that God has committed his power to them.

If it has been difficult to maintain spirituality in single minds and collective bodies, how much more difficult has it been to bring men to realize, that by spiritual means alone the kingdom of God is to be sustained in the world. It is extremely difficult for men to believe that *truth* can win the day, and sustain the church. The almost universal practice of professed Christians has been, so soon as they have obtained the power, to bring ecclesiastical combinations, political authority, or at least wealth and station, to hedge about and protect the church. The sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, can be wielded by little children, and often so proceeds from their lips as to cut down strong men. But that it can so turn every way as effectually to protect the tree of life, but few men have ever steadily

and practically believed. They have seen it written through all history, that truth, and truth alone, had power to sanctify and save; yet they are alarmed when error stalks forth against it. They dare not trust truth alone in the fight, but run for green withes and new ropes with which to bind the giant. Nothing more distinguished the plans of Jesus Christ from those of all other masters of philosophy or religion than this, that he trusted the propagation and triumph of the new doctrines which he preached *wholly to their own force.* Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, was not only his theory but his practice. He took his coadjutors from the humblest and least powerful ranks of society. "Put up thy sword," he said; I could call legions of angels if I desired to use force. He prescribed no ranks in his kingdom, no orders of any sort, as others had done. "I am your master," he said, "and all ye are brethren." If any one would be greatest among you, he can become so, only by preëminent *service.* Call no man master, and allow no man to call you master, for there is no master but myself. Who would believe this the way to overthrow kingdoms and revolutionize the world? Would Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists? Can it be done without a "*visible* head" to the church—without Bishops to ordain and command, or Sessions, Presbyteries, or Consociations to rule? Truth only, the Spirit of Christ only, and every disciple a preacher? Even elevated piety says No! and puts its hand to its sword. What, no plan for the suppression of error, but just that of preaching truth? No ecclesiastical fence at all around the church?

Christ established no form of church government in detail; and it is evident from what he said and did, that the only government which He could approve, must be that of the brotherhood; and in their hands, the object of all regulation must be the security of individual freedom. This must be the object and arrangement, for Christ holds every one subject to himself directly, and bound to do his bidding, not consulting with flesh and blood. His promised help was to *individuals,* not collections of men. The great business of those who became his subjects, was preaching, accompanied by works of benevolence. His last command was, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." He promised miraculous powers to all who should *believe,* and then ascended to heaven. The next verse says, "they *went* forth and preached everywhere." The Lord did not withdraw his power or his care over these preachers, but blessed all of them, and the name of the Crucified One came to be known and loved, with wonderful speed, through the world. His true disciples still hear

his voice calling from heaven to them, "Go preach, go preach the gospel." But who are these that cry, "Stop, ask *our leave?*" Some of them are true disciples, strangely misunderstanding their duty, and the plans of the Lord. Others are dumb dogs, that will not bark themselves, and do not like to be disturbed by any noise. It was the human conservatorship which men assumed to establish over Christ and his kingdom, that not only checked and prevented the accomplishment of his last order, but carried back the whole church again to paganism, and surrendered it to become the strongest fortress ever possessed by Satan. Oh! how the blood of the saints has flowed in rivers, under the ecclesiastical protectorship of the church. But for this, the world would have been full of the knowledge of the Lord centuries ago. It is heart-breaking to think of the long agony which our race has endured, and especially the followers of the Lamb, because Christians have not trusted to and carried out the great moral and intellectual plan of Jesus Christ. And yet they will not learn. The great burden is, How shall we stop irregularity, how stop too much and too earnest preaching, how *organize* the hosts of God's elect into one great *central unity?* Still the voice from heaven cries to all who believe, Preach! preach! Still the conservative organizations cry Stop! ask leave! and still the nations lie in darkness. But a new day has dawned, new methods of preaching have been devised. In Sabbath-schools, in prayer-meetings, in the distribution of tracts and Bibles the Lord is preached, and *all*, who believe, are waking up and understanding that the cry, Go preach the gospel, means *them.* Many have gone to the heathen, others are going, supported by those who remain with the stuff. Great principles of truth are being published all abroad, and error is giving ground even in its darkest and strongest holds. It is not conservatism, be it remembered, but liberty, which is doing all this. Let the disciples everywhere see and know that the day is breaking, the day of such labor and hope as never before dawned. If the world cannot be reclaimed now, if the mighty conquests of truth are to be yielded to unbelief *this time,* what can our world have to hope for? But the world is Christ's, and I trust his dominion is to be extended over it by this present effort, during this day which is now dawning. Let every disciple address himself to the doing of whatsoever his hands find to do. Let every one preach the word in his own appropriate manner, enforcing his words by a Christian life.

That this treatise of my excellent friend may encourage the disciples, and help them to see where their great strength lies, is my earnest wish. For that he has prepared it, and if my hasty

introduction, in the least degree, assists his benevolent design, I shall be most thankful to him for having requested me to prepare it.

A CLAIM TO SAINTSHIP.

[*From the Boston Recorder, October*, 1847.]

Messrs. Editors:

I WANT to know whether I am not entitled to be put in the calendar of saints? I see that several persons have been spoken of lately as having done a very meritorious and praiseworthy act, in making some sacrifice for the observance of the Sabbath. I have made some sacrifices in that way during my life without thinking much of it, but now I begin to suspect that I am a much holier man than I have heretofore thought myself to be.

During the last year I made a journey to "the West." On returning, it would have saved me four dollars, I believe, to have paid my passage "through" from Chicago to Buffalo, but the boat would reach Mackinac on Saturday night, and as I did not think it right to travel on the Sabbath, I paid to that place and stopped. Perhaps I ought not entirely to suppress the fact that I wished to see Mackinac by daylight, and when the boat arrived it was in the midst of a splendid moonlight only, which proved, however, to be altogether the best light in which to exhibit the place. But on the afternoon of the next day, Sabbath, the crack boat, Boston, came along—just the boat I wished to go in, and just the time I should have desired to start, but that it was the Sabbath. I am not a minister, and very likely no one on board would have known me; yet I did not go, nor had I any debate with myself whether I should go or not, but staid until Tuesday, if I remember right, and then took a second-rate boat.

I have a son who spent some months in traveling over the West. His trunk was stolen, the thief arrested, and my son compelled to give a bond for three hundred dollars, that he would appear at the opening of the court in Sandusky city on a *Monday*, in a future month, to testify against the thief. As that Monday approached, my son found himself upon the shores of Lake Michigan. He took a boat, which was expected to arrive at Sandusky city on Friday, or at farthest on Saturday. But by some accident she was detained, and when the Sabbath sun arose, she was amidst the marshes of Lake St. Clair. At the first landing place my son went on shore, though he knew that by doing so he could not reach Sandusky city according to the

bond. He took the first boat that came along on Monday, reached his post Tuesday forenoon, and reached the court-house as the district attorney stood up to move the court that his bond should be declared forfeit; but he exclaimed, "Here I am," and all was right. I never had these things printed, and never thought much of them, but deemed them mere common duties, such as Christians are always accustomed to. But since I see such acts held up as rarities, things only performed by extraordinary men, I query with myself whether I am not something extraordinary, and my family also, and whether I ought not to consider the holding back of the district attorney to the very moment of my son's arrival, as a miracle from the Virgin Mary, in illustration of the great love she bore to him and his holy deed. Say, are we saints, or nothing but every-day Christians?

THE MEXICAN WAR.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 17, 1846.]

THOMAS JEFFERSON has been ranked by the more religious part of the community as an infidel. Yet some of his sayings are worthy of the highest place in the esteem of all good men. He could not have been the worst of infidels who said in reference to the slavery which then pervaded almost all the States, "I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just;" and in reference to government, "that which is morally wrong cannot be politically right." This last declaration stands in high condemnation of that disregard of moral obligation which proclaims, "All is fair in politics;"—"Our country right or wrong." According to Mr. Jefferson's maxim, governments and political parties are bound by the same moral principles which bind individuals. This is the doctrine of the Bible, and must be the doctrine of all intelligent Christians and philanthropists. The opinion has been industriously inculcated, that a state of war puts an end to the common liberty of free discussion, suspends the law of morality, for the time, and binds every good citizen to unite with all his powers in support of the government of his country, whatever his private opinions may be of the rectitude or wisdom of its measures. But the opposite of this must be true, upon the rule of Mr. Jefferson. War is so terrible a calamity that governments ought not to find it a protection against public scrutiny; on the contrary, governments ought to be restrained by the consciousness that if they allow themselves to be involved in war, they will be called upon to give ample reasons for so great an evil, and

during the progress of the war, will be held to a rigorous scrutiny, lest under the influence of its great temptations, they adopt measures which are immoral. That in these days a nation is at war, seems almost of necessity to imply a want of wisdom or sound morality. There was force in that declaration of a Senator who exclaimed, "Of what value is your diplomacy, if it cannot save us from war."

The war with Mexico came upon the Administration as unexpectedly as it did upon the nation at large. It came, in consequence of the same false policy being adopted toward her, which was adopted toward England: the policy of raising the utmost hazard of war, that to avoid so dire an alternative, peace might come. The Administration no doubt expected the Oregon negotiation to terminate as it has, in an adjustment. Yet the notice, which, according to the declaration of the President, would, at the end of a year, present the alternative of an adjustment of the boundary—or war, together with the demand of more than was clearly right, with the rejection of all overtures for arbitration, and that in a tone of rough defiance,—all this did create in the minds of prudent men, a deep alarm, and but for the wisdom of our Senators, and our people, and the cool dignity of the British ministers, would probably have brought upon us a war as horrible in its consequences as it was unnecessary and worthless in its object. By this policy, we have lost a portion of Oregon, which would have been ours if only we had floated on the tide of destiny,—a loss, however, of what is worthless, and so not to be regretted. But thanks to a kind Providence, the "kill or cure" policy terminated in peace, though not so much from the policy itself, as because it was counteracted and overruled by better plans.

In our relations with Mexico this same policy has involved us in the other alternative, and plunged us into a war as perplexing as it was unnecessary. Oregon was fairly ours to 49, and Texas to the Nueces. Beyond these bounds our own statesmen were divided as to our title. Yet in both cases the Administration went for 54.40 as our "clear and unquestionable" right. It is no part of our purpose to extenuate the wrongs which Mexico has done us. Miserable Mexico, priest-ridden and robbed, has been groping in darkness for three hundred years, under the name of a Christian community, but in all that time has made no progress; for she has been guided not by the light of revelation from above, but by superstitions from beneath. Our object is only to find out what *we*, as a great, free and Bible nation, ought to do, in accomplishing the high destiny with which heaven has entrusted us. *We* know what is right, and can afford not only to be just,

but generous, charitable, nay, compassionate. Although Mexico claims the whole of Texas as hers, yet if we had confined our pretensions, or at least our armies, within the boundaries of Texas proper, there would have been no war. There is very little question about this, in the minds of intelligent men. The settlers along the left bank of the Rio Grande, had never taken any part in the Texan revolt. They were Mexicans, as loyal to that government as any other portion of the nation; and although Texas spread her declaration of independence to the Rio Grande, it was never with the approbation of the people on its banks, nor in fact did real independence ever extend there for one moment. The absolute boundary of all sympathy with Texan independence was probably the barren desert midway between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. A just man will not take forcible possession of more than is his *unquestionable* right, at least in *his own* opinion. That which is doubtful he will leave to negotiation or arbitration. If we had been governed by the same rule, our armies never would have crossed the Nueces, and then our interests and honor, and the peace of the world, would have been preserved. Instead of this, we marched our army to the utmost verge of a questionable claim, and not content with that, planted our cannon in such a manner as to control, and in effect take possession of a city to which we did not pretend to have any claim. What boots it that in this position our General was ordered to be circumspect, and to declare that he came on a mission of peace only. His *actions* were hostile, irritating, insulting; and they aroused the unwise ire of Mexico to its "sticking point." No conquerer ever yet announced that his object was war. Bonaparte always marshaled his armies for peace. How, under these circumstances, can we appeal to Heaven, and say that this war is either "necessary" or "just."

The manner in which the constitutional sanction was obtained to the existence of war, it seems to us, is in the highest degree reprehensible. In the excitement and agitation with which the news of a Mexican attack filled Congress and the nation, the President sent to Congress a message demanding the passage of a law recognizing the existence of war, with authority to raise fifty thousand men, and expend ten millions of dollars. A proposition to *declare* war, was voted down instantly in the House, but this executive call for a *recognition* of war the effect of which was precisely the same, was urged through with the impudent and slanderous declaration that every patriot who demanded time to think of so dire a declaration, was a traitor, and a Mexican at heart. When Mr. Calhoun stood up in the dignity of a patriot Senator and declared his readiness to vote the appropriation, and the men, extrav-

agant as was the extent of the demand in this respect, but asked a day to consider the question of war, the proposal in both its parts was refused by the leaders, and in the rush of furious excitement, not men enough were found to hazard their personal good for their country's, to control the desperate movement. If a week had been allowed for consideration, probably if but a day, we should have avoided a war, and General Taylor's army, after having driven back the Mexicans to the other side of the river, would have reposed on their honors in a position much less perplexing than the one they now occupy. If the demand of the President had been limited to the five thousand men, asked for by General Taylor, how much better would our position now have been. That denunciation of deliberation, what was it for? Because it was foreseen that deliberation would defeat the declaration; and that Mr. Calhoun would have the honor of saving the country from two wars in one session of Congress. Thus, in mad defiance of all discretion, our commerce, and all our interests were stripped of the protection of peace, subjected to the laws of war, and placed in a position from which it will require the coöperation of our enemy to extricate us; for nothing but her agreement to a treaty of peace can perfectly repeal that act of our Congress. It seems to us that the nation should raise its voice in stern reproof of such a procedure, and put a mark upon the men who brought it about, which will caution future administrations against pressing the most momentous of all questions which can ever be submitted to Congress, through the two Houses, without time to be certain as to facts, and to deliberate calmly on their proper consequences.

There is a strange circumstance at the basis of both controversies in which we have recently been engaged, viz.; that there was no possible good to be obtained by war, nor by a domineering diplomacy, which would not have been better obtained by peace. In the case of Mexico, we demand two things: a settlement of boundary, and the payment of indemnity. If we would but be quiet, our boundary would settle itself by the force of destiny, more resistless than our armies, and give us more than we can hope or ask for in arms. As to indemnity, we are spending vast sums of good money in pursuit of much smaller sums of bad. We are hoping that the inability of our debtor to pay his current expenses, will compel him to agree to pay our debt. We impoverish him and ourselves, we throw away more than the debt, in rendering him hopelessly unable to pay. What, under such circumstances, can we hope for? What do we intend? Why, obviously, to compel him to *sell* us California, in payment of the debt, —we giving him money to boot,—when the same California we

should, in better time, have gained for nothing, and perhaps have collected our indemnity besides. Turn which way we will, therefore; let our fleets and armies be as valiant as they may; inevitable defeat and disgrace are in the very nature of the case before us. The whole affair must come to just such a result as would have ensued, had we invaded and conquered Texas ten years ago, and compelled Mexico to give Texas up to us, for the consideration of the money due from her, and five or ten millions of new dollars to be paid by us. Here then are we in a most perplexing dilemma. Our little army has covered itself with honor, but not under the declaration of war, nor after the invasion of Mexico. Under the declaration of war we have invaded Mexico, and blockaded her ports. We have cut off her trade with all the world, and with ourselves among the rest. Now, resting in a quandary, we perform such an exploit as opening the port of Matamoras to Yankee notions, in despite of Mexican revenue laws, hoping, by showing that free trade makes cheap goods, to corrupt the people into rebellion,—not telling them that the same vicious policy prevails here. This singular blockade, to establish free intercourse, we hope to carry into all the ports of our enemy. We look also wishfully for another revolution in Mexico, which will put some one at the head of affairs who will help us out of the scrape; and we proclaim to Mexican aspirants, through our government newspaper, that we war only "against the *war party* in Mexico;" thus rendering the United States an appendage to an opposition faction in our enemy's councils. California we can invade without waiting for factions to help us. In her boundless wilds there are, in truth, but few people of whom to make factions in resistance of their own government or ours. A western army is bravely marching, therefore, upon Santa Fe, which, in our amazement, we find belongs to us; or at least, that consistency compels us to *say* so, because it is on the left bank of the same brave river, which was the boundary of the Texan *declaration*. If Yucatan could only be brought to declare her independence, making the same river the Northern boundary of her declaration, why then, by annexing Yucatan, we should hold all Mexico by the same sort of title under which we claim Santa Fe. But this claim is in contradiction to that upon which we rely in treating with Texas, viz.; that she has for years maintained her independence and governed herself. Santa Fe has never maintained or declared its independence for an hour; and so, by our own rule, belongs to the government with which it has been associated.

In the Message to Congress in which President Polk recommended the recognition of war he says, "I shall be prepared to

renew negotiations whenever Mexico shall be ready to receive propositions, or to make propositions of her own."

The terms of this declaration of the President have been essentially modified, however, by the government organ. The Union says that the objects of the war are "reparation—justice—peace." "When she shall proffer *suitable* terms, they will be accepted. Till this be done, our war will march steadily and vigorously on—it will ascend the table land of Mexico—it will march from province to province, and from stronghold to stronghold, until finally it shall dictate to Parades, or to any successor if need be, a compulsory peace, within the walls of his capital." Bravo! verily, the editor speaks like a god. Here, then, the pledge is taken back entirely; for "reparation" and "justice" are a broad basis for any demand, and mean that fighting is to cease, when Mexico *submits to our demands.* This is a total repudiation of the Presidential pledge.

It becomes, under such circumstances, an inquiry of great interest, what are the demands which our government makes upon Mexico; and whether they form any just cause for prosecuting the war. If we understand the matter, our government demand, first, that Mexico should *treat* with us. Secondly, that she shall treat about and fix a boundary between herself and the United States. Thirdly, that she shall agree to pay us what she owes us. We appeal to the justice and moral sense of the American people to say whether in these things there is any justification for invading the territory of Mexico and killing her citizens. Has not Mexico, as an independent nation, a right, according to international law, to hold diplomatic relations with us, or not, at her pleasure. This right is practised upon by ourselves and all civilized nations, without assuming that the withdrawal of such relations is cause of war, or even of offense. If pecuniary indebtedness, or the settlement of a boundary is cause of war between nations, authorising invasion and slaughter, then may every creditor enter the house of his debtor, and shoot him down, and every farmer who claims a boundary about which his neighbor refuses to negotiate, may do the same thing to him. The ground is no better in one case than the other: and we fear that the statement proves our invasion of Mexico with the intention of murdering all her citizens who attempt to oppose our invasion, to be not only without good cause, but unjust and wicked; a crime of the blackest die.

With these views it is easy to see how peace should be procured. If we cease to prosecute the war there will be peace. To say we fight for peace is a delusion. Withdraw your armies and take a position of unquestionable justice. We should say, on this

side of the Nueces. But if this is too much to hope for, then on this side of the Rio Grande. No nation ever had so fair an opportunity to obtain real honor, and lay the world under obligations to us, as we had after the Mexicans were repulsed. If in the midst of victory we had declared, "We will not disturb the peace of the world by a war upon Mexico, but content ourselves with vindicating the integrity of our soil, and our flag upon the highway of nations;—if Mexico stops here, no more blood shall be shed;" there would have been high honor in it, and sound policy too. That time is past; but now, let our armies be withdrawn from Mexico, and our fleets from the blockade of her coast, and there will be peace; as good a peace at least as has existed for the last ten years, and just as good as would exist under any treaty which could now be formed, our own recognition of war only excepted. If in a new treaty, Mexico should again promise us money, the non-performance of the promise would probably lead to renewed irritation. Nothing is to be gained, and much to be lost, by a prosecution of the war. Trade will be lost. Many valuable lives of our own citizens will certainly be lost in the camp, if not in fight; and the attempt to capture the Mexican capital, will expose us to disaster and defeat, under the accumulated disadvantages of an invading war.

Sundry collateral reasons we know are urged for continuing the war, showing rather, that direct reasons are wanting. It is said that the war will extend civilization and liberty, break down the oppression of hierarchy, and especially of military despotism. But these are such reasons of benevolence as the ambitious destroyers of our race have always been ready to urge. The people of Mexico have a right to manage their own affairs, and be miserable until they can furnish among themselves the men who are necessary to their deliverance. It would be a strange assumption that the United States are obliged to set up schools for the Catholic governments of South America, and compel them to be educated and reformed. The task would be more perplexing than the famous obligation to preserve the "balance of power" in Europe, which has cost so much blood and treasure. Besides, like all other possible objects of the war, these are much better accomplished by peace. The mission of the United States among the nations is one of reason, of intellect, of morals. It can only be accomplished in peace. While peace prevails, reason extends her sway, and truth advances in her conquests. But war substitutes force for reason, violence for kindness, and turns back the hopes of philanthropy and religion. War has been the curse of mankind; and this detestable Mexican war is the present curse and shame of these two nations, and especially of the United

States, as most enlightened. Our influence will bless Mexico, if it is exerted peacefully. The Bible men will by and by reach the Mexican border in the tide of their emigration, and flow over among her people, carrying their intelligence with them. Before them, the Mexicans must be reformed, or silently perish like the aboriginal races of America or the negroes in the free States. Americanism is a principle, not a locality. Whoever adopts our principles, is an American in the best sense, wherever he may dwell. The great American principles of liberty and individual right, will give us the Rio Grande, nor stop there, but go on to conquer all Mexico, and all the nations of America; whether to be added to our Union or not, is comparatively of little importance. California must fall into our possession. Everything which we fight for, will be accomplished much sooner in peace. Why then should we disgrace California by conquest, when we only intend to establish there free and independent States? Why conquer Mexico with great cost, when of necessity we must immediately abandon the conquest? Why fight *off* the objects we desire, and refuse to accept them when offered to us without money and without price? Why offend Heaven and disturb the world, and destroy our own citizens, and squander millions of money for no possible good? All our institutions and interests are hazarded by war; all sure to be secured and advanced by peace.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

[*From the Journal of Commerce, July* 1, 1847.]

Soon after the war with Mexico was commenced, I addressed my fellow-citizens, at least so many of them as read the *Journal of Commerce*, under my own individual signature. To present my sentiments with my humble name attached to them, was rendered necessary by circumstances,—not because I was so thoughtless as to suppose that my name could add weight to my opinions. In that address I endeavored to show that the war was waged without reasons which could justify it; for that, although the conduct of Mexico had been unwise toward herself, and injurious toward us, there were yet no facts in her conduct which authorized the nation to resort to war. I attempted to show, also, that the war was without motive on our part, for there was nothing which its utmost success could bring to us, that would not be better attained by forbearance and peace. I also urged that the prosecution of the war involved dangers to our country of fearful importance.

A year has passed away, and the time has come in which I think it possible that the same views may again be presented with some hope of usefulness; and this, I trust, will be deemed a sufficient excuse for doing again what would otherwise be merely a piece of unworthy self-conceit.

The war was entered upon by the government under a great mistake as to the proper measures for securing peace. It was not anticipated by the people or the government. No one expected it a week before it was declared. If it had been anticipated, it would have been avoided. The last reports to the government were, that no considerable Mexican force was near Matamoras, and that there was no danger of an attack. Suddenly a strong Mexican force crossed the Rio Grande. General Taylor sent to the government for five thousand men to repel the invasion; but the President, after a Sunday's consultation with his Cabinet, seized upon the occasion to recommend a declaration of war, with an army of fifty thousand men; and the members of Congress, afraid to stand up and avow their real opinions, voted assent to the executive recommendation, with a slavish servility suited only to the menials of a despot. The House of Representatives, with almost entire unanimity, voted down a war proposition on one day, and yet on the next day voted almost as unanimously in its favor. A very few only of either party were found, with the real patriotism of the noble Calhoun, to exclaim, "I cannot vote for this measure. I shall remain silent." Yet there was more real glory in this exclamation than has been gained by all the trophies of the war. The object of the Administration was peace all the while. The President had adopted the notion that the way to secure peace was to make demonstrations of war; to deal in threats; to play General Jackson in fact, though without his comprehension of results. Whether the spirit of this policy was among the Cabinet Secretaries, or whether it was the determined policy of the President, is not known; for no Cabinet was ever so perfect a unit (at least to the public) as ours, and never were personal opinions and Cabinet discussions preserved in such profound secresy from the people. This policy of threats had well nigh involved us in a war with England about the land between 49 and 54.40 in Oregon, for which now the nation do not care one straw. But peace had been secured with England, and the Oregon boundary settled,—perhaps the President thought, by his threats; other men think, by the opposite and conciliatory policy of the Senate and the people. The President's object was a treaty with Mexico which should settle boundaries and establish permanent peace. This was a most desirable object, which previous Administrations had earnestly

and patiently sought to accomplish. Mr. Polk had sought it in a conciliatory way. He had been patient and generous. He had even withdrawn our naval force from the neighborhood of Mexico, because her rulers stated that its presence was an embarrassment to negotiation. But the Mexicans behaved as poorly toward us as toward themselves; and at length the President determined to renew with more vigor the threatening policy. He ordered General Taylor to break up his camp on the Nueces and take a position of intimidation on the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras. In this movement commenced the danger. The annexation of Texas was only a link in the chain of events, and no more the cause of the war than any other link; though *nearer* to the indiscretions which were the cause of the war. But it can with no more propriety be set down as the cause, than the declaration of Texan independence, the battle of San Jacinto, the discovery of this continent by Columbus, or any other event which was necessary to place affairs as they stood when General Taylor was ordered to the Rio Grande. It is impossible to show that any probability of war existed, while General Taylor remained on the Nueces. Neither did the removal of his army to the Rio Grande necessarily involve the issue of war; no, nor even the irruption of the Mexicans upon this side of that river. General Taylor contemplated no such thing as war certainly, when he called for five thousand men. He thought of nothing but the security of his position, and *that* he in the end accomplished most gallantly, before a single man came to his aid. Had General Taylor been the executive head of our nation at that time, this war had never been. No man in the country was more surprised than he, at the declaration. *It was the declaration or recognition of war by Congress and the President, that made the war.* Up to that declaration, there was no war, nor inevitable necessity or even probable cause of war; and but for that declaration, we should have continued as much at peace with Mexico as we had been for ten years before, or shall be hereafter upon the basis of any treaty which it will be possible to make. The unwise determination of that unfortunate cabinet council, on Sunday, commenced the war.

This is a good place to speak of "military chieftains," at whom so many of our citizens are alarmed, as if they were men whose breath is war. The history of our country teaches a different lesson. General Washington by his own personal firmness saved us from war during his administration, though it required all his great influence to restrain the excited feelings of his countrymen. The war of 1812 was not declared under the influence of a military chieftain, but by President Madison, eminently a civilian, surrounded by a civilian cabinet, and with so little of the

firmness which is essential to military greatness, that he was driven from his own conscientious opinions by the Hotspurs of civil life, and compelled to recommend war.

Under General Jackson we had no small bluster with France; yet they who understood the matter always knew that there was not the least danger of war. His policy was always fixed on peace. Here now again we are at war under the guidance of men who know nothing personally of its agonies. With no military chieftain in the Cabinet, and with a President who is a man of peace, who has periled his political standing in opposition to personal combats, and in the cause of temperance and general good morals,—under such a President we are at war, and all by a great *mistake*. He knew little of war, and so played with it, as inexperienced children do with sharp knives, and the nation bleeds in consequence. There is another thought connected with this. If the aspirants for the presidency in the halls of legislation get to understand that war creates new Presidents, they may be less disposed to vote for it. A measure which throws them from the line of promotion, will not be so likely to receive their support.

It is proper to say here, too, that the declaration so often made that "this is a war for the extension of slavery," is utterly untrue. Mr. Calhoun, the great champion for the rights of slave-holders, was the most prominent opponent of the declaration of war. He besought the Senate to pause, if but for *a day*, and think of the direful consequences of what they were in such haste to perform. The South as a whole, has shown quite as little favor toward the war as the North or the East. The solemn declaration of the Legislature of Massachusetts that this war is for the extension of slavery, therefore, exhibits either very culpable ignorance, or a more culpable disposition to create political importance by aggravating the bad feelings of one section against another in this Union. Nothing is more common among small politicians, than this sectional sectarianism; and nothing less in accordance with enlarged views and real patriotism. The war was a *great mistake*,—nothing else. It was declared as a part of the policy of intimidation. The apparition of fifty thousand men and ten millions of dollars the President thought would soon bring the Mexicans to terms. "Blow upon blow," cried the Union; "blow upon blow" must we give Mexico, until she consents to treat with us and restore peace. Sixty days of this policy, it was thought, would be quite enough to insure the desired result. But we have gone on for more than a year and have not peace. Our blows have followed each other in such terrible force, that the government of Mexico is annihilated. We

have destroyed her ability to make peace. The war was declared as the means of peace, and for no other purpose; though this means was resorted to the more readily, perhaps, from the war-like disposition of some people at the West and elsewhere. The President was perfectly honest in his plan, but utterly mistaken in his means. His great iniquity has been in carrying on the war so long, and with such misery to both nations, merely to save himself from the humiliation of confessing that he had made a great mistake. He thought ten millions of dollars would be a sufficient expenditure; that few lives would be lost, and little evil in fact come in any way, from following out the policy of intimidation. But he cannot be excused so gently in the long prosecution of his plan. He has been driven from one excuse to another, and from one hope to another, until he is in danger of resorting to reasons which may involve us in war with all the world, and render us and our institutions a curse among the family of nations. From being the noble minister of peace, liberty and happiness among men, we are in danger of bringing back the dark ages of war and carnage, and putting republican liberty in such deep disgrace in the world, that tyranny in any shape will be preferred before it. I ask my countrymen to look candidly at our present position before the world. Kings and emperors and aristocrats have combined to preserve the peace of the world, and yet this nation perpetuates the policy of devils. These United States, whose glory is love for individual man and protection for his rights,—who have all along proclaimed good will among men; we to whom the Great Father of all men has given this wide-spread land of plenty, with millions of acres yet unoccupied upon which future generations may expand; we to whom He has given intelligence, spreading schools and churches everywhere, and placing his Book of love where every family may have it; we who have all that heart could wish, are the nation left last upon the earth to make war, to send our young men to invade the territory of our neighbor, to murder her young men in battle and her old men in their homes,—to spread desolation, terror and death, on every hand. This is the work in which America is engaged, now that all the other nations have abandoned the abominable trade. What a curse we have inflicted on ourselves! The waste of treasure is vast, but the nature of that consideration renders it almost unworthy of mention in comparison with the terrific moral evils which have been brought upon us. Of thousands of our citizens who, leaving their peaceful domestic occupations, have engaged in this wicked war, nearly half have died miserably in the country which they have invaded. Some of them have been killed by the Mexicans in the honorable

defense of their soil, but more have perished "by the visitation of God." And they who at the expiration of their year of engagement have fled to their homes again,—what are they? Some are maimed, others infected with diseases which they bring home to propagate among their friends; many broken down in morals, and transformed in one year, from good citizens, to the habits and feelings of ferocious war. What a curse has this war been already to our country! A long list of "pensioners," not honored as those of the Revolution, will fill up the ranks of that patriot throng who served in the defense of their country against a foreign foe, who had much more reason for invading our territory than we have for invading that of Mexico. It is a consolatory reflection that these citizens of ours who have suffered so pitiably in Mexico, went *voluntarily* to their destiny. They were not conscripts taken by force from their occupations. They went of their own accord to invade Mexico, and if they have perished, it was in their own chosen way.

Under such views, the second invasion of Mexico, under General Scott, seems to me a measure of unmitigated wickedness. We had fought long enough to know that *that* was not the way to peace, and that to fight longer must be without an object. Yet the city of Vera Cruz was doomed. The foundries of our commerce and manufactures were turned from their useful pursuits to the manufacture of bomb-shells and all the implements which destroy cities. The explosion of these shells in palaces and in private dwellings, where the mother sat terrified in the midst of her family, was foreseen and deliberately resolved upon. It is idle, in a moral view of the subject, to plead "the laws of war." Those laws, no more than the laws of honor or the laws which regulate the internal police of a banditti, are recorded in the Bible, or will be pleaded in that great day when rulers and people must stand on one level, to be judged by that perfect Christian rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Well, what are we to do, after all the wrongs of the war? We have trodden down the national existence of Mexico, so that peace upon a basis of the national will is impossible. Whatever treaty we may now make will be in reality a farce; a mere thing dictated by force; and so it will be understood by the civilized world. It will be impossible for us to acquire a good title to the least thing conceded by any such treaty. Besides, Mexico has nothing that we want. She has nothing to cede but territory, and more territory at present would be a curse to us. Our population is rambling too loosely for our best interests. Our laws and our responsibility are already spread to very dangerous ex-

tents, over people so thin and of such habits that the whole nation is kept in constant exposure. Even the ports of the Pacific are now as fully open for our use, and were before the war commenced, as they ever will be. It is but damage and indefinite hazard that we extend our territory further by force. The rapid advancement of our population will show in future years what will then be required. But if the territory of Mexico or any portion of it were worth our having, it is impossible for us now to gain any good title to it. The annexation of a single square mile of Mexico, under our present conquests, would be only the annexation of an indelible blot upon the history of our nation. We could never own such a territory upon the ground of any moral right, and no other right can be anything but a moral wrong. We bought Louisiana; we accepted Texas by negotiation with her lawful government. Now to annex more by *conquest*, would be the adoption of a policy of wickedness heretofore unknown to us, and with which the annals of this republic are not yet stained. May they never be stained by such a deed! While we purchase or annex, by peaceful treaty with lawful sovereigns, we follow the leadings of destiny; but annexation by conquest, once admitted, will burst the bolts of morality, and open the door to a future policy of terrific hazard to our nation. The plan of taking a line across Mexico from the Rio Grande to the Pacific, or that of taking permanent possession of her sea-ports, either or both together, are incomparably preferable to the prosecution of a bloody war. But neither of these can be sustained upon any ground of morality or of sound policy. They only appeal for support to that pride which so often goes before a fall.

The war has brought our relations with Mexico into a position which must startle every thoughtful man. We have destroyed her government, and we find ourselves in possession of a burthen which we know not how to throw off. The question was, how shall we gain possession of Mexico. It now is, how shall we rid ourselves of Mexico. Such monstrous thoughts are suggested by this monstrous state of things, as the maintenance of a republican government in Mexico by the force of a permanent armed occupation. This monstrous plan seeks support in the philanthropy of civilizing Mexico and teaching her people how to govern themselves. We are called to no such hopeless education of our neighbor; and the attempt would be quite as likely to barbarize the United States and break up our government, as to civilize Mexico and establish her institutions.

In the midst of all the dangers which surround us, there is but one clear way of either sound morality or sound policy. It is to come out of the difficulty by the same path through which we

entered it. In short, to *abandon the war;* to call home our young men, and leave Mexico whole and entire to her own management, and ourselves to the full enjoyment of the boundless prosperity which Providence bestows upon us. The cry, *No more appropriations for the war*, must go up from all parts of the nation. It is the only cry that can place us in safety. To express opposition to the war, without declaring that the war is to be abandoned; to oppose it, and still vote supplies for it, is only to support the Administration in carrying it on. No man in the nation would be more relieved than the President by seeing an end of the war. If I understand his feelings, he would have been happy if Congress had refused appropriations at their last session. But no one dares to take the responsibility of recommending an abandonment of the war. What a disgrace it implies upon the Christianity of our country! The President recommended the war, and Congress, afraid of the people, voted it. He points out the means of carrying it on, and they vote the men and money through fear of the people. In my judgment, the President and Congress underrated the intelligence and morality of the people. Let the people speak, then, and undeceive their rulers. Let them know that they stand at the head of a nation, not of military rowdies, but of Christian men, full of the wisdom of peace and good will. At any rate, the tide must be turned by the people, and it can only be done by a bold and loud demand that the war should be abandoned. *No more appropriations for the war.—Come away,*—LET MEXICO ALONE!! must be proclaimed through the land. Let no man call himself a friend of peace who is not willing to take this attitude. All other opinions are upon the whole in favor of war.

But whatever my countrymen may please to do or say, I do not intend to live or die with any of the blood-stains of this war upon me.

DAVID HALE.

Appendix.

APPENDIX A.

In 1690, Mr. Hale was invited by the General Court to accompany the expedition against Canada as chaplain. Notwithstanding the earnest remonstrance of the church and town of Beverly, Mr. Hale accepted this invitation and was absent from his flock for several months on this public service. "In 1734, the General Court, in consideration of the time and service rendered, granted his heirs three hundred acres of land."

As an illustration of his liberality and public spirit, it is stated that during the old French war, on one occasion Mr. Hale "directed the selectmen to appropriate £6 of his salary—nearly a twelfth part of the whole—to public uses;" and on another, loaned the town money for the same purpose. He also contributed liberally toward erecting a house of worship.

Mr. Hale, in common with many of the most influential men of the day, was to some extent carried away with the delusion of witchcraft, though he did not take an active part in the prosecution and trial of the accused persons. But in 1692, his own wife was accused of witchcraft, though none could be found to believe the charge; this opened his eyes to the fanaticism that prevailed upon this subject, and with great frankness and boldness, he acknowledged his own error, confronted popular opinion, and sought to prevent the further sacrifice of life to that terrible delusion. His "Modest Inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft," a work everywhere commended, hastened the close of the Salem tragedy.

[The foregoing facts are derived from a "History of Beverly," by Edwin M. Stone.]

B.

NATHAN HALE graduated at Yale College in 1773 with the highest honors. On leaving college he taught school at New London, but on the breaking out of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country he joined the army, entering the regiment of light infantry under Colonel Knowlton of Ashford. Before the age of twenty-one he received a captain's commission. In September, 1776, when the American army was quartered in New York, the Commander-in-chief wished to ascertain "the numerical strength and contemplated operations of the enemy," who had just been evaded by the skillful removal of the army from Long Island. For this purpose it was necessary that some one should penetrate to the heart of the enemy's camp, and Colonel Knowlton was charged with the selection of an individual to perform this office. The nature of the service admitting no delay, a proposition was submitted by Colonel Knowlton to the officers, when young Hale was the only one found ready for the perilous undertaking. His youth, intelligence, learning, polished manners, discriminating judgment and fidelity, all combined to recommend him to the Commander-in-chief, who gave him his instructions in person and sent him on his important but dangerous errand. Captain Hale succeeded in ascertaining the lines, posts, and numbers of the enemy, and their contemplated movements, and was just stepping into his boat to return, when he was seized as a spy, and taken back to the British commander, who without any investigation ordered him *to be hung the next morning.* It is stated that "this peremptory order was carried into effect, in a barbarous and revengeful manner by a refugee to whom he had been delivered for execution by the British commander." The last words of this young hero—for he was then but twenty-two years of age, were expressions of regret *that he had but one life to lose for his country.*

C.

Rockville, Aug. 13, 1842.

Being now in my seventy-eighth year, I would, for my own satisfaction, record some of the dealings of Providence toward me.

I was born in New Haven, December 9th, 1764. My father, Samuel Austin, descended from one of three brothers, emigrants from England. My mother was daughter of Dr. Alexander Wolcott, early in life of New Haven, but after of Windsor, Connecticut. My parents gave me much religious instruction, but my schooling was much interrupted by the Revolutionary war. I was under the ministry of Dr. Jonathan Edwards until I was in my twenty-sixth year (the time of her marriage).

In 1790, my father died, and I was married to Rev. David Hale of Lisbon, with whom I lived very happily until 1822, when he died in the triumph of faith. In 1804, my husband being in poor health, he was dismissed and we moved to Coventry.

In my childhood and youth I had many seasons of solicitude about my soul's safety, and struggled with many temptations and trials, but at the age of about fifteen I hope I gave myself up to the Savior. The text of Scripture which speaks of receiving the kingdom of heaven as a little child gave me great comfort, and I felt that I could trust in Christ and go on my way rejoicing. On the first Sabbath of July following I was admitted to the church under the pastoral care of Dr. Jonathan Edwards, at New Haven. Since I united with the church I have had some seasons of great darkness and temptation, but the Lord has carried me through to old age, and I would now testify to His goodness, and rejoice, and bless His holy name.

(Signed) LYDIA HALE.

D.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[*To his Mother during the Cholera of* '32.]

NEW YORK, JULY 16, 1832.

MY DEAR MOTHER:—I have received and read with deep grief your letter from Coventry. I hope our kind friend Major R. and his afflicted family will be able to stay themselves on God, and so be kept in perfect peace. Truly, this is a world of death. There is nothing solid but that which has its foundations in God. He is everlasting strength, and they who trust in Him shall be as Mount Zion which cannot be moved. We are here so surrounded with death on all sides, that we become familiar with the ravages of the dreaded King of Terrors.

You will find in the *Mercury* of this week full and detailed accounts of the cholera among us. Those accounts have been chiefly made up by myself, and you can receive them in the same manner as if they were all repeated in this letter. I wrote you three letters directed to Vernon, and sent you a daily paper there, presuming that you would feel a good deal of anxiety about us. But I hope you will not feel greatly anxious about us, but put your trust in God, and be willing that He should do all his pleasure. Notwithstanding the great number of deaths in the city, I do not feel much in danger, and if I did I am fastened to duty here, and cannot change my ground without an abandonment of my duty. Scarcely an individual of all my acquaintance has suffered from the cholera. Not a merchant has died, and the deaths in all the principal religious societies are I presume quite as small as usual. I am in the most perfect health, and my family are so with one or two slight exceptions. Although we are in health, and from all we know do not believe our danger much greater than usual, yet the knowledge that something like a hundred persons perish daily in the city in which we dwell, by such a disease, produces some rather chilly sensations, and takes away most of the hilarity which is indulged at other times. It is a good opportunity to learn how entirely we are in the hands of God. How fully true it is that in his hands our life and breath are. I have some such feelings as I am glad to have, but need a great deal more grace.

I still intend to visit you this summer, but the sickness here renders the time more uncertain than it would otherwise be. I

do not expect that the cholera will go on to rage for many days as it is now raging. It would not be in accordance with its movements anywhere else. But no one knows save He who controls the destroying angel.

I am, your dutiful son,

DAVID HALE.

[*To his Mother during the Cholera of* '32.]

NEW YORK, JULY 28, 1832.

MY DEAR MOTHER:—

"Safely through another week
God has brought us on our way."

So far as my family is concerned we have to speak of goodness. The pestilence has not come nigh us, and we feel as if we had now become so accustomed to a bad atmosphere that we can breathe it almost without harm; at any rate we feel more firm and compact in body than we did two weeks ago.

This week has brought on a great relief from the severity of the prevailing epidemic. On Saturday last the actual number of deaths from cholera was 152. The report yesterday was 63, and to-day 70. The somewhat worse report of to-day, than yesterday, is only the irregularity which is to be expected in the retirement of the disease. I send you by this mail our evening edition of to-day's paper, which will give you the news. At Brooklyn, the disease is to-day quite as bad, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as it was here a week ago. May a merciful Providence speedily avert this dreadful pestilence from us. When it departs I shall feel an immense load removed. The continued care and "sharp look out" we keep, the editorial responsibility of writing so as to do good and not hurt at such a time, and the consciousness of the distress around me, become painful from long-continuance, more painful than any apprehension about my own personal safety.

I hope, my dear mother, you will be able to enjoy much of God's presence where you are, and to feel not only safe, but rejoicing in his hands. He is a glorious object of confidence, and blessed are all they who put their trust in Him.

Major R., I hope, gets much consolation from the great fountain. The joys of this world fade away, but they whose portion is in God have an abiding source of joy which is not dependent on the springs of this world, and can never dry up. There we may all drink abundantly—drink and welcome.

Your dutiful son,

DAVID HALE.

[*Extract from a letter to his Mother, during the Cholera of* '33.]

"For myself, I feel more and more that the thread of life is very brittle, and I think some more willingness that it should be so. I should like to live to comfort you while you live, to train up my family, to see the *Journal of Commerce* free from debt, and exerting all the good influence of which it is capable, and furnishing me with the means of providing for my family, and doing some good in the way of charities. I should also be glad to see where this world will be in moral and physical condition thirty years hence; and I *expect* to live to see all this. But as the Lord pleases. If he cuts me off this year, it will be because that is best. Whether living or dying, may we be the Lord's."

[*Extract from a Letter to his Sons, when absent at School.*]

New York, August 8, 1833.

My Dear Sons:—We have heard but little from you since you left us. We had a letter from R— announcing your arrival. Since then we have sent you a bundle of clothes, which we hope you received in due order. We were very sorry to hear that you had lost your money, because your expenses are heavy upon us at the best, and we can ill afford to have them increased unnecessarily. We were sorry also because the circumstance exhibited, as we found, a want of proper care in you, and is rather a proof that you will not be careful of things put into your possession. We were still further sorry for the manner in which R— mentioned it, for that indicated that the loss was little thought of or regretted. I shall never wish to teach you to be miserly, and to think that money is the chief good, and that to possess great heaps of it ought to be the chief or even a great object with you. But I know that heedlessness about money is almost sure to be followed by embarrassment and poverty, and with these a loss of character, and the means of usefulness. If a man would be happy, he must have his pecuniary affairs in a comfortable and easy way, and this in general can only be secured by economy and carefulness. Many a man of good powers of mind is rendered unhappy all his days, and counts but little any way in the world, because he has not sufficient carefulness to take care of his money. I wish my sons to be happy and useful men, and in order for that, I know it is of the first necessity that they should be economical. Your living you must get yourselves. For if I am able to educate you well, it is about all that I can do, or if I

should be so favored as to be able, that is in my opinion about all which it is best for parents to do."

[*To an absent Son, on the Death of an Infant Daughter.*]

NEW YORK, JANUARY 9, 1836.

DEAR RICHARD:—I write you now with sad intelligence; your little sister Martha Louisa is dead. The dear babe has been out of health ever since September. But a few weeks ago she was seized with a cold or something else, which affected her lungs a good deal. The inflammation we were not able to remove, and she sunk under it. We were not much alarmed until within a day or two. She died last night, and will be buried, as we expect, to-morrow after divine service. The affliction is severe. We all weep under the chastisement of our Heavenly Father, and you will weep too, I dare say. And Richard, will you not now become a Christian? You too must die, and you cannot be justified, as I trust Martha is on the ground that she has never knowingly and voluntarily rejected the Savior. You have heard of Jesus' dying love, and have refused it, and unless you come and submit yourself voluntarily to Him, you cannot be saved. And, my dear boy, what do you intend to do with the learning you are acquiring? Will you make yourself respected as a learned man, and gain the fame of literature? I know that you must feel that such an aim is quite too low for an immortal being. Nothing but the service of God in a course of humble and obedient usefulness is worth living for. But if you live for the glory of God, for the salvation of men, you will live for the same objects for which angels live, and exert their noble powers. I have for some time been intending to write you a letter, and try to bring you to reflect seriously on what you are doing, and persuade you, if possible, to dedicate yourself to the service of God. If you were but truly pious, if you had a covenant with God, that all things should work together for your good, I should feel quite safe concerning you, and should rejoice to have you serve God in any part of the world, and if called to part with you, we should do it mourning, yet rejoicing. But I feel constantly anxious about you now, for I fear God is on the principles of his holy administration your enemy, that His law condemns you, and you have no refuge in His mercy through Christ. Will you not, my son, make this a subject of deep consideration and prayer? In whose service will you spend your life? Say shall it not be the service of God your maker. Let it not be the ser-

vice of His and your own worst enemy. I shall not cease to pray that the Holy Spirit would draw you to the blessed Redeemer. Show this letter to D—These considerations are worthy of his most serious regard. We all love you much.

Your affectionate father,

DAVID HALE.

[*Extract from a letter to a Son, who was absent on a journey.*]

You do well to watch over the feeling of recklessness which you mention. It is a common feeling with persons who leave the circle of their acquaintances. It shows them, much to their surprise often, how great are the restraints of society, and how little they are accustomed to feel the presence of God. The cure for it is self-examination and prayer. Cultivate a stronger and more vivid apprehension of God's presence around you, my son, and it will replace most happily what feeling of restraint you have lost by leaving the circle of home. Many persons in this condition have been ruined. They felt restrained from doing wrong while at home, and supposed, perhaps, that it was sound moral sentiments, and pious reverence for God's laws, which restrained them. But when they went beyond the watch of their acquaintance, they learned that their restraints were local, their gods were gods of particular places. May the Lord never leave us to ourselves. All the family remember you affectionately.

Your father, DAVID HALE.

[*Extract from a letter to a Son who was absent on a journey.*]

New York, July 17, 1838.

My Son:—I got your letter last week. Now that my children are scattered in all directions, it is a great pleasure to have them writing home, making the paternal ground the central point of family correspondence. From this point we send back the rays of information, so that each member is tolerably well informed about all the rest. * * * *

I see in the Boston Baptist Watchman a letter speaking of a very rich revival of religion now going on in Schenectady, which has included a considerable number of the college students in its influence. There are no influences which I would recommend you to seek so earnestly as those of the Holy Spirit on such oc-

casions. You have never since or before you entertained a hope of your new birth, been sufficiently disposed to attend evening meetings, or any places favorable to religious improvement, except the regular services of the Sabbath. I do not know but I have been faulty in not taking you more with me to such meetings. It is at any rate, I have no doubt, quite indispensable for every Christian who would grow in grace and knowledge to devote regularly some portion of his time in social religious intercourse with his brethren, if he would grow in grace, and knowledge, and when the special influences of the Holy Spirit are descending like dew around him, he should take special care to drink of it as largely and freely as possible. The longer I live the more I am impressed with the truth that it is a laborious business to prepare for heaven. To cultivate the heart requires patient watchfulness, as much as the cultivation of the intellectual powers. At our prayer meeting last evening a son of Mr. L. Tappan, lying at the point of death, at New Haven, was made a subject of prayer. He is, I suppose, a student in the College, and probably not a great ways from your age. He is hopefully a Christian, and so ready to die. Yet it is a solemn and a gloomy thing almost, to die without more glowing faith than most men possess who have some faith.

I send this by a gentleman of my acquaintance, who came in just now to ask to have the direction of his paper changed. The saving of postage is something, and a plan of the sort, if pursued through life, amounts to a surprising sum. It is never worth while to spend a dollar's worth of time, *which could be devoted to useful business*, to save a shilling, nor spoil a knife to skin a flint. Still it will be found that savings make men rich oftener than anything else. So much so, that Franklin said, "a penny *saved* is *two* pence clear." I believe it was Franklin.

Your affectionate father,

DAVID HALE.

[*To a Daughter at Boarding-school, when ten years old.*]

NEW YORK JULY 26, 1838.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER L.:—I was much gratified with the little letter you sent me some days ago, for although it did not contain any very important information, it was one of your first efforts, and quite like yourself. Parents love their children so much that they love to see them make blunders, and to make efforts of any sort, whether they be wise or full of childish folly. Your letter how-

ever was quite a good one, for so little a girl's first effort to write to her father, and I shall expect you to keep on writing, and that each successive letter will exhibit more and more knowledge, until you can easily write as long and as good letters as Mary and Lydia. L., I believe, took down a hoop which will probably answer your purpose. But you must remember that you are at *school* at Amboy, and that your chief business is to learn your lessons. You will, to be sure, have plenty of time for play, in which I shall be glad to have you enjoy yourself, but if you would be happy at play, you must not go to play with a heart heavy because your lesson is neglected. I do not expect you to be very wise now, but I expect you will be wise enough to obey those who are older and wiser than you, and I hope, above all, you will be wise enough to obey God, whose laws are all perfect in wisdom and goodness. You see what a long letter you have got by just writing me such a little one.

Your affectionate father,

DAVID HALE.

[*To two of his Daughters, abroad at School.*]

WEDNESDAY EVENING, DEC. 6, 1838.

MY DEAR LITTLE DAUGHTERS:—It is long since I have seen you or written to you, so that I am almost afraid that I have neglected my duty as a father, and failed in using the proper measures to make you love me, as I wish you should. You have probably learned, by your own experience, to comprehend the truth of Solomon's wise saying, "He that would have friends must show himself friendly." This is true no less with regard to parents and children, than with regard to persons not at all related. If you desire to make others love you, you will seldom fail of accomplishing your object, if you will begin by loving them, or by exhibiting that kind solicitude about their interests and happiness which love would inspire. So when you are in the company of others, if you wish to win their love, you must do it, not by talking of yourselves and your own great excellences and wonderful feats, but by talking of their interests and their excellences and good deeds.

You know, perhaps, that Dr. Devan and Lydia dined with us on Thanksgiving Day. We were quite happy in being so many of us together, and we did not forget those who were absent, and so I gave my toast with a tumbler of cold water. What do you think it was? It was "Richard, Lucy, Laura," and we were all

happy in drinking such a toast. I was happy in it, though I felt melancholy at the recollection of the name of another little one who has gone, I trust, to a better school even than the one where you are, but from which she will never come home in this world. I would have repeated the dear name of Martha Louisa, if there had been no others present but our own happy number. My memory went still farther back, and beyond where your memory began, and I remembered the mother of your oldest sisters and brothers, and my honored father, with both of whom I had eaten many Thanksgiving dinners in great happiness. It was a thought too, full of melancholy pleasure, to look forward and expect that as one after another of us is called away, no more to meet in our happy circle, those who remain will not forget the absent. Nor do those who are absent forget us who remain behind. How sweet it is, in the midst of such recollections, to remember that all our intercourse with the dear ones who are gone was guided by love—that we did what we could to make them happy, and but little to grieve them. So I hope it may always be with us until we shall form our circle again in still higher happiness and love before our Savior's throne in heaven, or in some one of those happy mansions which he said he was going to prepare in his Father's house.

We are much gratified to hear from time to time that you are doing well, laying up stores of knowledge, and commending yourselves to the approbation of your excellent teachers. Try to live each day better than any before, and you will find that you do not exert yourselves in vain.

Your affectionate father,

DAVID HALE.

[*To a daughter absent at School.*]

NEW YORK, JULY 9, 1839.

MY DEAR L. :—Your Ma has reminded me this morning that this is the birth-day of our eldest daughter—our Lucy. I should probably in the multiplicity of my avocations have not thought of it. But I am glad to be reminded of it, and glad to stop a few minutes, and reflect on the event which occurred thirteen years ago, when I first saw your infant form, and on the events which have marked your path thus far on the long-endless journey you then commenced. We have much reason to be thankful that you live still—that your limbs are not broken—that you are not a maniac, but on the contrary that you have faculties which you have already learned how to use, so that we may be

delighted with the exercise of your opening powers, and hope for their continued enlargement, until you shall grow up a woman, capable of taking your station among the managers of this world's affairs, and be a blessing to your parents, and all around you. Thirteen years is more than half of the distance, yes, full two-thirds of it, to your womanhood. They probably seem short to you compared with the years in prospect, but in this feeling, if you have it, I forewarn you of disappointment, for the thirteen years of your life thus far, are the longest years you will ever see, unless, indeed, God should give you years of tedious affliction. They might possibly seem longer. Before you are aware of it your teens will be gone, your education finished, and your character formed. Is it not time, then, that all the essentials of a good character should have been commenced? Is it not high time that your heart were given to your Savior, and that gracious work of sanctification commenced, which alone can destroy the evil passions of your heart, which have already toubled you so much, and fit you to be happy here and in Heaven?

You will never be happy in the highest degree of which you are capable, while you stand in opposition to the glory of God, and the great plans of his goodness to bless all his intelligent creatures. For your rebellion against infinite goodness thus long, you deserve to be left to perish, but how dreadfully will your guilt be increased by thirteen years more of obstinacy, with your conscience enlightened, and Divine goodness blazing all around you. Give your heart to the blessed Savior, Lucy, and never forget that until you do this you are going constantly the *wrong way*. We love you very much, and think of you to-day with more than common interest, and we pray the good Lord who has conducted you thus far, with so much favor, will guide you safely on to His heavenly kingdom.

I love little Laura, too, and wish her to read this letter.

Your fond father, DAVID HALE.

[*To another Daughter.*]

NEW YORK, AUGUST 22, 1839.

MY DEAR LITTLE L.:—I congratulate you on the return of your birth-day, and

"I could give you a thousand kisses
Hoping what my thoughts desire."

I wish you a happy day, though I know you are to be disappointed in your wish to spend the day at your "dear home" —a

nome dear to us all, and to your parents most dear, because it is the place where we first caressed you, and where we have enjoyed the numberless pleasures attendant upon having our flock of children around us. But the oldest of the flock are taking to their wings and flying away, so we must make the most of our *little* chickens ere they also fly away. The fact that to-day you are eleven years old, admonishes me that long before another equal space of time is past, you will stand before me a woman grown, no more to be whirled in the air, and ride on the shoulder of your father, but, if our lives should be spared, to take his arm, and be his companion. What I do for you, as your father, must be quickly done. I have prayed for you a great many times, that God would bless you, and make you love Him, and keep His commandments, that He would prepare you to be a useful woman during the brief space of your flight through this world, and a beautiful spirit afterward in heaven, enjoying and serving Him forever. For rapidly as you have run from infancy to childhood, and will go on to youth and womanhood and old age, these are not the end of changes, but one succession of them will follow another forever. It should influence you to behave in a womanly manner to know that soon you will be a woman, and it should elevate you proportionably more to know that soon you will be an angel. But angels have holy hearts.

Your early years have been marked by some suffering in regard to your health. Those sufferings, though they have not been very great, have made us love you the more, and made us the more desirous that you should be very happy when you can be. Still parents would be very unfaithful to their children, if they should indulge them in every one of their wishes, for they all want many things which would, in the end, harm them. God, whose government is all love, finds it necessary to treat us all so, and deny us many things which we most ardently desire, but which would ruin us, perhaps, if we were indulged.

One of the most important things to be attended to on a birthday, is self-examination. So you must set yourself to watch your young heart, and teach it early to seek God, and desire to be good. Be impartial with yourself, condemning all that you really think wrong, and determining this day to do better, and as you learn more to understand how fast times flies, learn to be more choice of it, and spend it better.

While I live, you may always be sure of an affectionate father,

DAVID HALE.

[*To his Daughters at School.*]

NEW YORK, AUGUST 5, 1840.

MY DEAR LITTLE DAUGHTERS:—I always take great pleasure in talking with you, and in writing too. But New York is such a busy place, that men who hold a position in its business, find their minds and hands so constantly occupied that even their children are apt to be neglected, though the education of their children is a matter of immensely more importance than laying up property for them. A father is happy under such circumstances who has a good wife, as I have, to devote her affections and thoughts to the children. Your mother is about to visit you in her affection, to see if she cannot, in some way, do you good. Many children have parents who send them to school to get rid of them, and who always feel that their children are a burthen. You are so happy as to have parents whose happiest occupation it is to watch over and pray for you, and in every possible way to do you good. Especially we wish to imbue you with those principles and habits which will make you useful and happy. God who made the world has drawn the path of happiness very plainly, but it is a straight path with exact boundaries, and there are flowers, and a thousand things over the fence which look enchantingly, and which, applying their enchantments to our passions, urge us to break through to their enjoyment. But no one ever yet did so who was not in the result miserably disappointed. They who have tried it most thoroughly have learned that to fear God and keep his commandments is the whole duty of man, and that all, more than that, is not only vanity but vexation of spirit. God has allowed us all that can make us happy, and He has assured us that in keeping His commandments there is great delight. The experience of Christians confirms this declaration of God, and proves that they alone have right opinions, and follow judiciously after happiness, who take the word of God for their guide. So I hope you will do, my dear little daughters.

Your affectionate father,

DAVID HALE.

[*To one of the same, on her Birth-day.*]

NEW YORK, AUGUST 22, 1840.

MY DEAR L.:—Your father affectionately congratulates you on your twelfth birth-day. I think myself happy that you have grown so large, and so strong, and have learned so

much, and have still such excellent opportunities for learning more. I am glad to find you thinking so much of your birth-day. Time slips away so slyly, and so silently, that if we do not take care life slips away and is gone unnoticed. It is well therefore to have some spot where we "take note of time." Twelve years is no small space of time, and now you pass the mark as we pass the mile-posts on a railroad. One after another flies by, and before we count them almost we are at the end of our journey. This is a peculiarly happy birth-day to you, and your parents too, because we hope you have, during the past year, been born *again*, and are going on to be one year old as a child of God. Your parents rejoice with you in this great and glorious hope, and pray that you may indeed be adopted into God's family, and be taken wholly under his care. While we hope and pray, we cannot help remembering that you are very young, and as yet have learned but little of the exceeding wickedness of your heart, and of all hearts, and we look forward to your coming year to confirm our hopes, and give stronger evidence by your meek, and industrious, and prayerful life, that you are indeed something better than *my* child. I hope the year before you will be one of health and happiness to you, and that you will grow in knowledge and goodness, until you are perfect in the likeness of your Savior.

With many joyful wishes for your happiness,

I am your affectionate father,

DAVID HALE.

[*To his Daughters at School.*]

NEW YORK, SEPT. 23, 1841.

MY DEAR DAUGHTERS:—I feel as if I had been negligent of a father's duty in not writing to you more than I have. But you know how I am pressed with important cares every day, and every minute, and I hope you will not allow yourselves to suffer for want of my counsel.

You have grown so tall that you can see into the world a good ways. I have no doubt that you see indistinctly floating about a great many bright objects which you hope as you go farther to be able to lay your hands upon, and make them your own. I hope you will be gratified in this. But you must bear in mind that it is not all gold that glitters, and that therefore some of these things, if you catch them, will only prove to be washed over with gold, and that very thin, while the substance is of some

baser metal. I trust, however, that you are not filling your minds with fancies, so that you will be disappointed with the reality, as so many girls are. This world is a very good world in itself, and the people would be very good were it not for their bad dispositions. As things are, there is a great deal to enjoy, if only we go to work the Bible way. If we set about enjoying the world upon the world's plan, it will all turn to ashes in the mouth; but godliness, with contentment, is great gain, and the world cannot rob us of it. So fear God, and keep His commandments, cultivate the spirit of Jesus Christ, and all your blessings will be enriched, and your disappointments softened and allayed. You must never expect to get everything exactly right at any time. This is not a world for such perfection. The ills we feel, therefore, should not make us always desirous of change, lest we fare like the fish which jumped out of the frying-pan and fell into the fire.

I am looking forward to the pleasure of having you at home soon to mingle with us in all our enjoyments.

Your affectionate father,

DAVID HALE.

E.

OBITUARY OF MRS. DEVAN.

FROM a letter of Dr. Devan, of October 22, extracts from which have been published, it appears that the death of Mrs. Devan occurred at Canton on the evening of the Lord's day, October 18. She had been indisposed a week or two previous, but it was only a few days before her decease that the indications of illness became alarming. On the 12th of October, "symptoms of abdominal inflammation made their appearance, which resisted all the means which medical counsel could devise; and on the following Lord's day, at 10 o'clock, P. M., her spirit left the cumbrous clay, to join the great company of glorified martyrs that surround the throne."

"The day before her death, she was asked, 'Do you regret having come to the missionary field?' The answer was prompt and definite, 'O, no; nor that I came to Canton city.' At another time, 'What is the state of your mind?'—'Peaceful.' Then she asked, 'Do you think it possible for me to recover?' I replied, (and it was the first intimation I gave her of her danger,) 'There is very great danger.'—'Well,' she said, 'I am very willing either to live or to die, to recover or not, as the Lord may please.' On the following day she asked, 'Is my case fixed?' I replied, 'I fear it is.' 'Oh,' she said, 'it will be a release, a happy release.' Again she inquired, 'What day is this?' I told her it was the Lord's day. 'I am glad it is, and when shall I die?' On being told that she could not expect to see another morning, she said, 'All is right!'—'Lydia,' said I, 'have you any messages for your friends?'—'Only to tell them that my trust is in JESUS.'" Her remains were interred at Whampoa; services at the house by Dr. Bridgman, missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and at the grave by Dr. Ball.

Mrs. Devan was a native of this city, and daughter of David Hale, Esq., now of New York. She was converted to Christ at Westfield, Massachusetts, in 1832; and at the time of her death was a member of the First Baptist church in New York, under the pastoral care of Dr. Cone. She was appointed, with Dr. Devan, to the China Mission in March, 1844, and sailed for China the following June. "She was a pioneer female missionary, *the first that ever brought the word of salvation to those of her sex at Canton.*" She died at the age of twenty-eight.

The following notices of her character are from the correspondence of the Baptist Register, and are illustrative of the estimation in which she was held.

"Her mind was of a very superior order, and under the cultivation bestowed upon it exhibited a richness and maturity not often seen. Her form and features were such as to attract the notice and secure the admiration of all. These advantages were rendered doubly interesting by 'the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit.'"

"She had moved in a circle where her society was cultivated and prized. In the church, she was the loved of all. The different societies connected with the First Church depended much on her prudence and zeal. The poor blessed her name. Having pecuniary means, and being unincumbered with children, she made the hearts of the widow, the fatherless, and the afflicted, to rejoice."

"She did not enter upon the missionary life with any romantic expectations,—she had counted the cost,—she knew what she would have to sacrifice. She loved her friends, she loved the church to which she belonged, she loved, she venerated her pastor. Her heart was formed for society, and with the husband of her choice, and troops of admiring friends, she enjoyed the world, with the best and highest relish. The world had never incurred her hate; but the love of Christ constrained her to sacrifice the pleasures of this life, that the Chinese might be saved.'"—[*Baptist Missionary Magazine.*]

F.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES IN NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN.

The era of Congregationalism in New York dates from the formation of the present Broadway Tabernacle Church. Prior to that time there had existed in the city several feeble Congregational churches, some of which hardly lived long enough to have a history, or even a name. Most of these enterprises were frustrated by unforeseen circumstances, mainly in consequence of the extraordinary pecuniary embarrassments of the times, involving many of the leading Christian men of this city in ruin. Only one or two of this class remain. The Broadway Tabernacle Church was established on a firm basis, and for a time was the only strong and healthy Congregational church in New York. Its prosperity demonstrated the fact that Congregationalism could flourish on this soil; and awakened the numerous friends of this system of church polity, the sons of New England, residing in New York and Brooklyn, to the importance of having churches in which they could worship God after the manner of their fathers. Accordingly in the winter of 1841 (January 20th) a number of gentlemen in Brooklyn, partly at the instance, and by the personal influence of Mr. Hale, formed the Church of the Pilgrims, and erected a substantial and imposing edifice of stone, (at a cost of $65,000) on the corner of Henry and Remsen streets. To this enterprise Mr. Hale contributed $2,000. This church is free from debt, and in a highly flourishing condition, under the ministry of the Rev. H. S. Storrs, Jr.

In June, 1845, a small Presbyterian church in the North-eastern part of Brooklyn having dissolved, several of its members united with others in forming a Congregational church, which invited Rev. I. N. Sprague, of Hartford, to become its pastor. This church, which took the style of the "Second Congregational," erected a neat and commodious edifice on Bridge street, near Myrtle avenue, toward which Mr. Hale contributed six hundred dollars. Few churches have had a more rapid and healthy growth than this.

On the 12th April, 1846, a church was organized in the upper part of the city of New York, under the name of the Church of the Puritans. It embraced several gentlemen of wealth, and enter-

prise, who were warmly attached to Congregational principles, and who desired that those principles should be fitly represented in the midst of the prominent churches of this great metropolis. Rev. G. B. Cheever, D.D., was installed the pastor of this church, soon after its organization, and a site was procured on Union Place, where an elegant edifice of marble was erected, at a cost of about $55,000, which was entirely paid for by subscription. In this enterprise, Mr. Hale felt a deep interest, and indeed, he did much to originate the whole movement. He subscribed $2,500 toward the erection of the house.

In the year 1847, the church edifice on Cranberry-street, Brooklyn, occupied by the First Presbyterian Church (Rev. Dr. Cox's), was offered for sale,—the congregation being about to remove to another location,—and was bought by Mr. Hale, in connection with two gentlemen of the Church of the Pilgrims, (Messrs. H. C. Bowen and S. B. Hunt,) for about twenty thousand dollars. A new church was organized in June of that year, under the name of the Plymouth Church, which took possession of this building, and invited Rev. H. W. Beecher to become its pastor, under whose ministry a large congregation has been gathered, and the church has greatly increased. During the present year, a large and neat edifice, with ample arrangements for lecture-room, Sabbath-school rooms, &c., has been erected in place of the old one, which was in part destroyed by fire in January last. The new church fronts on Orange-street; it is wholly paid for.

In February, 1848, the Madison-street Church, New York, (Presbyterian,) changed its organization, and adopted the Congregational form of government, under the name of the Eastern Congregational Church. This change was made with great unanimity, and has been followed with happy results. Mr. Hale agreed to pay one hundred dollars per annum for five years, toward the support of the pastor of the church. Its affairs are now in a promising condition under the ministry of Rev. A. B. Crocker.

About the same time a church was organized on Clinton avenue, Brooklyn, over which Rev. D. C. Lansing, D.D., was installed pastor. A lot was purchased and a small building erected for temporary use, to be hereafter occupied as a lecture-room. Mr. Hale contributed proportionally to this enterprise. The church has had a gradual and steady increase, and must eventually become a position of importance.

A similar enterprise has been commenced under favorable auspices, on Bedford avenue, Brooklyn, where a small church has been organized, and a neat house of worship erected, free from debt. Mr. Hale was one of the original subscribers to the purchase of the lot on which this building stands. The rapid growth of the neighborhood will insure at this point, as on Clinton avenue, a large and substantial congregation.

In the autumn of 1848, the new and elegant edifice on the corner of Hammond and Factory streets, New York, erected by the Hammond-street Presbyterian Church, was bought at public auction by Messrs. S. B. Hunt and H. C. Bowen, for about fifteen thousand dollars. Public worship was sustained in the house for several weeks under the direction of the proprietors; and in the month of November a church was organized under the name of the Hammond-street Congregational Church, and an ecclesiastical society formed, to which the property was transferred. Rev. W. Patton, D.D., was subsequently installed pastor of the church. The congregation is already large, and its finances are in a prosperous condition. The enterprise has been successful beyond the most sanguine expectations of its friends, and may be regarded as established on a permanent basis. As this whole movement was made during the illness of Mr. Hale, he had no part in it personally, though it gave him great satisfaction.

One or two other churches remain to be spoken of. The Fourth Congregational Church in New York, which was formed in 1843, after struggling, in faith and patience, with many trials, sometimes meeting in a hall, sometimes in a private house, sometimes ready to disband—has at length procured, on favorable terms, a neat and comfortable house of worship in Sixteenth-street, between Sixth and Seventh avenues, and has encouraging prospects of success. This feeble church was an object of the sympathy and benefactions of Mr. Hale.

The First Free Congregational Church, worshiping in Chrystie-street, was a remnant of the church formerly worshiping in the Chatham-street Chapel. It has always had to contend with pecuniary embarrassments and popular prejudices; and notwithstanding the zeal, perseverance, and self-denial of its members, may be compelled to yield to the force of circumstances, and disband. Mr. Hale gave large sums of money to this

church, and just previous to his last illness, he had devised a plan to extricate it from all embarrassment, which, had he lived, would probably have been successful.

Mr. Hale supported from his own purse a missionary, who traveled through Western New York to look after the interests of feeble Congregational churches; and another in Michigan, who labored for the same object. The latter was subsequently maintained by the Domestic Missionary Society of Connecticut, and Mr. Hale contributed the amount of his salary toward the erection of a church in Detroit. In one of his letters on the subject, he says, "I am thankful that God has given me the means of being a small society myself until larger things can be brought into operation." Alluding to the denominational aspect of these efforts, he remarks, "I do not intend to be bigoted about religious matters, for it is that which I wish to overthrow. But as I cannot help all denominations, and can exhaust all my resources on what I deem most useful, I think it right to labor pretty exclusively for the 'best gifts.'"

It has been already stated that Mr. Hale paid six hundred dollars a year, for two years, for the support of Rev. H. L. Hammond as pastor of the Congregational Church in Detroit. When first applied to for this purpose, he wrote to Mr. Hammond as follows:

"There is only one way to answer a proposition so full of important benefits. So long as God gives me money, and opens such doors of usefulness for it, I know what He intends to have me do with it. I have not had time to confer much with friends. One gentleman said he would pay a tenth. I shall see others; but whether I get help or not, I will be responsible for the amount, and you may draw on me quarterly for the amount, if, upon a more careful inquiry into the facts, you think it best to undertake, as I have no doubt you will, and I trust the Lord will bless you in this great labor."

In a subsequent letter he says, "I rejoice with you in the prosperity which God is giving to our efforts. It is most remarkable, truly, and I bless Him that He allows me the privilege of having anything to do in labors so successful and so useful. I have paid your two drafts with much satisfaction."

Again he writes, "I pray that God may continue His blessing, and grant it in still larger measure, so that the next reports may be much more joyful. But if they are much less so, there will

be no cause for discouragement. The good that is done is not always immediately apparent, though it does seem to be the case now that the harvest is ripe for the sickle. I feel that mine is the humblest part in the work, but I am thankful for any part."

The Congregational church in Detroit is in a highly prosperous condition, and the other agencies for good which Mr. Hale set in motion at the West, are still at work. There is no means of ascertaining the gross amount of his contributions to promote the cause of Christ at home and abroad; while his more private charities have their record only in the grateful remembrance of the beneficiaries, and with Him who rewards each act of kindness to a disciple, as done unto Himself.

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